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How can the 'emotional lives' of women teachers be understood within a
particular academy school in England?

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Signed declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis has not been and will not be, submitted in whole or in part to another University for the award of any other degree.

Signature:

Summary

This study explores teachers' 'emotional lives' and the significance of emotions in their everyday lived experiences of teaching. This is an especially important issue in the current crisis of teacher retention in English schooling where many claim they leave the profession for reasons of stress, burn-out and crippling workload levels (Lynch et al., 2016; Näring et al., 2012; Struyven and Vanthournout, 2014; Tuxford and Bradley, 2015).

Taking up the ways in which paternalistic norms construct women teachers as overly emotional (Acker, 1995; Hebson et al., 2007; Schutz, 2014), the study attends to a wider politics of gender discourse in everyday lives, focused on those relating to teachers (Ahmed, 2004a, 2004b; Boler, 1999; Jaggar, 1989). The study is situated in a review of literature which illuminates the way that gendered norms pervade schooling (Bartky, 1990; Campbell, 1994; James, 2008; Katila and Merilainen, 2002; Lyonette, 2015; Shakeshaft, 1992). I foreground post-structural framings of gender using the work of Butler (2004, 1999, 1990) in order to problematise assumptions that conflate emotions and women teachers as 'one'. I utilise an approach that also pays attention to the 'space' of the school as highly gendered, constantly negotiated, and always discursively produced. In this environ, multiple voices and discourses are at play, shaping relationships between women teachers, space and power (Acker, 1990; Laurie et al., 2014; Massey, 1994, 2005; McGregor, 2006; Puwar, 2004).

Conducted in one secondary school academy institution in the east of England, where I am a practising teacher, the study takes place between April 2017 and July 2019. It is based on a series of semi-structured interviews that were conducted with three women teachers over a period of several months during the course of the school year. These explore the participant's 'emotional lives' as professionals within the institutional space of the school. I position myself as deeply embedded and implicated within the study. I therefore draw on the reflexive notes about my own 'emotional teaching life' within the same institution that I kept throughout the same period.

In analysing the data I draw on Foucault's (1978, 1980) understanding of the subject as always discursively constructed within particular 'regimes of truth' that have been normalised through modern institutions like the school and its processes of schooling.

Foucauldian analysis and rationalities assisted me in making sense of the discursive practices with which women teachers must comply in order for them to be recognised as viable subjects within the institution.

In conclusion, despite assumptions that gender equality is now taken as ‘a given’ in the school institution (European Commission, 2015) my findings instead suggest that the day-to-day lives of many women teachers are performed against a backdrop, and within an entangled milieu, of sexism and misogyny (Ahmed, 2015; Pomerantz, Raby and Stefanik, 2013; Shakeshaft, 1992). Future and further research might therefore extend this line of enquiry to a wider study of women teachers’ ‘emotional lives’ in a range of school institutions across England, providing an opportunity for them to contribute to knowledge that further understand their possible marginalisation, silencing and stereotyping. In turn, this might contribute to addressing a crisis (DfE, 2016a) within the teaching profession of recently qualified women teachers who currently leave the profession after only a few years of service.

Contents

Acknowledgements.....	ii
Signed declaration	iii
Summary	iv
Chapter One Introduction.....	1
1.1 Rationale	1
1.2 Policy context of schooling in England.....	2
1.3 Research focus	6
1.4 The cultural and political power of emotions.....	7
1.5 Researcher Positionality.....	9
1.6 Summary and structure of thesis.....	9
Chapter Two Literature Review	11
Introduction	11
2.1 Theoretical framings of emotion	12
2.1.1 Histories of thinking and their dismissal of emotions.....	12
2.1.2 Individual emotions	13
2.1.3 Emotions as social constructs	14
2.2 Theoretical framings of gender.....	17
2.2.1 Gender and biological sex.....	17
2.2.2 Gender as social construct.....	18
2.3 Performativity of emotions.....	22
2.3.1 The ‘work’ of emotions	22
2.3.2 Gendered emotions	23
2.3.3 Emotional rules of the school	25
2.4 Relational and gendered spaces	26
2.4.1 Individual experience of space.....	27
2.4.2 Post-structural framing of space.....	27
2.4.3 Gendered space	29
2.4.4 Who is the teacher in this space?	32
2.5 Conclusion	34
2.6 Research Questions	34
Chapter Three Methodology.....	36
3.1 Methodological and theoretical approach	36
3.1.1 Power and discourse.....	37
3.2 Researcher positionality and reflexivity.....	38

3.3 Setting	40
3.4 Participants	41
<i>Selection of participants</i>	41
<i>Demographics of Participants</i>	42
3.5 Research design	43
3.6 Research methods	43
3.6.1 Semi-structured interviews.....	43
3.6.2 Reflexive notes.....	46
3.7 Data analysis	47
3.7.1 Transcriptions.....	48
3.7.2 'Wonder' in data	49
3.7.3 Listening again	50
3.7.4 Collaboration of transcriptions and reflexive notes	50
3.7.5 Covert data.....	53
3.7.6 Dominant Themes.....	53
3.8 Ethical Considerations.....	53
3.8.1 Collaboration.....	54
3.8.2 Anonymity	54
3.8.3 Willingness to share	55
3.8.4 Authentic or fake rapport	56
3.9 Conclusion	56
Chapter Four Research Findings	58
Introduction	58
4.1 Affective economies.....	59
4.1.1 Feeling wrong.....	60
4.1.2 Miss, Ms or Mrs?.....	62
4.1.3 Sexist jokes.....	65
4.1.4 Speaking up.....	67
4.1.5 Is anyone listening?.....	71
4.1.6 Too short and too quiet	72
4.1.7 Reflections.....	76
4.2 Implicating space	76
4.2.1 Teaching boys.....	77
4.2.2 Empowering boys.....	81
4.2.3 Authority Figures.....	83
4.2.4 Formal and informal support	85

4.2.5 Balancing demands	90
4.2.6 Part-time teachers	91
4.2.7 Pregnant bodies	94
4.2.8 Reflections.....	98
Chapter Five Conclusion	100
5.1 Introduction	100
5.2 What are the affective economies of women teachers' 'emotional lives'?	100
5.3 How is space implicated in this affective economy?	104
5.4 Methodological contribution	108
5.5 Positionality and Reflexivity.....	109
5.6 Contribution to the field	109
5.7 Future recommendations	110
References	112
Appendices.....	134
Appendix 1: Information Form	135
Appendix 2: Consent Form.....	137
Appendix 3: Interview One Semi-structured Questions	138
Appendix 4: Second Interview Example Questions/Prompts	139
Appendix 5: Example of Interview Data Mapping	140

Chapter One

Introduction

1.1 Rationale

The premise of this research is that there is a need to gain greater insights into women teachers' 'emotional lives' within the context of discourses that saturate the institution of the school. In a political climate where it is reported that "between 2011 and 2014, the number of teachers leaving [the profession] rose by 11%" (DfE, 2016a, p. 8), and as a teacher myself, I am curious about the ways women teachers account for their everyday experiences which are documented as intense in much research literature (Day et al., 2010; Struyven and Vanthournout, 2014; Towers and Maguire, 2017). Teachers are, on the one hand, "systematically positioned as barriers to the change [within their profession]", whilst, on the other hand, "positioned in policy as agents of change" (Priestley, 2011, p. 2). Considering these contradictory and demanding discourses it is perhaps unsurprising that the introduction of new policies (DfE, 2015a) increasingly encroach on teachers' life/work balance in ways that pose challenges for their 'emotional lives', see section 1.2 (Ball, 2004; Tomlinson, 2005). These constant demands on teachers to be steady, unchanging and convivial are observations that I draw from to suggest that we should pay attention to 'emotional lives' amid the backdrop of the potential crisis of teacher attrition rates. I suggest that it is women teachers' voices in particular that are not being heard within a profession that – I contend – still defaults to normative masculinist ways of 'doing voice'. This is ironic in the context of the championing of the importance of 'pupil [student] voice'¹ within professional, 'Rights' and academic discourse (DfE, 2014; Howe and Covell, 2009; Sebba and Robinson, 2010; Webb and Crossouard, 2015). I am one of these women teachers who struggle to articulate my voice. It is this personal quest that has generated my sense of urgency in exploring the idea of paying attention to the gendering of the 'emotional lives' of the woman teacher as they each struggle to be heard.

¹ "The term 'pupil voice' refers to ways of listening to the views of pupils and/or involving them in decision-making" (DfE, 2014, p. 2).

My attention to 'emotional lives' grew out of a focus on a different research object in the form of my critical analytic study as part of my doctorate. Originally I had embarked on a pilot study investigating the 'emotional intelligence' of students in schools framed through individualistic and psychological assumptions (Goleman, 1996). However once I had conducted interviews with teachers to inform this work, I realised that my research focus had shifted because the teachers had an urgent need to speak of their own 'emotional lives', before that of their students, suggesting the political urgency of paying attention to their 'voice'. MacLure (2013a), who operates within a post-structural paradigm, speaks of the 'glow' of data. I posit that data in my previous study glowed in such a way that the need arose to recognise a rupture that would enable the refraction of my previous line of enquiry. The data that 'glowed' was resonated with my own position and feelings as a teacher. Having given my colleagues an opportunity to speak, I realised how significant the act of listening to them was for me: there was much being said that was not being heard elsewhere.

In particular, the data from my critical analytic study illuminated not only a need for women teachers to speak of their 'emotional lives', but also the gendered nature of the institutional space of the school. When so much education research is focused on efficiency and outcomes, the everyday emotional experiences of teachers, therefore, called out to be researched (Ball, 2003; Blackmore, 1996; Day et al., 2010; Ecclestone, 2011; Näring et al., 2012; Schutz, 2014). In this work, I argue that gender differences require ongoing attention within the school institution which is often assumed as a place of post-politics and equal opportunity where gender has somehow become invisible (Puwar, 2004). My theorisation of gender as meaning something more than the male/female binary is discussed further in Chapter 2, section 2.2.2. Hence my focus on women teachers such as myself.

1.2 Policy context of schooling in England

Meadowside School, an academy where I teach and this research was conducted, exists within a policy framework of marketization which arose from neoliberal policies of Thatcher's Conservative government in the late 1980s. In particular, legislation (Education Reform Act, 1988) introduced the concept of marketization which effectively created an education quasi-market whereby the state education was constructed as a

‘service’ and required to perform two key functions. These were to firstly reduce state control over education and secondly to increase competition between schools. The idea of reducing state control is however somewhat at odds with the simultaneous centralising introduction of the National Curriculum (Education Reform Act, 1988, p. 2) and high-stakes testing via league tables and OFSTED² reports introduced by the Education (Schools) Act (1992). Judgements made about schools led to a climate of institutional accountability which generated pressure to deliver results because funding depended on attracting large numbers of students (Ball, 2007, 2009; Goodwin, 2015; Jones, 2002; Tomlinson, 2005). In 1997 New Labour came into power but continued with these policies, including their emphasis on competition between schools. Their aim was to find a way to tackle social class inequalities and address the attainment gap between BAME (Black, Asian and minority ethnic) and working class students and students from middle-class backgrounds (Connor and Dewson, 2001).

The 2010 education reform under the coalition government³ intensified this competitive ethos. The DfE Academies Act (2010a) involved the forced academisation of underachieving secondary schools which had not been deemed to respond adequately to the marketization rationality instituted already to raise education standards and promote social mobility. Academisation in England involves schools being removed from local authority (LA) control, “eligible for takeover by a sponsor such as a business, university, other school, faith group or voluntary group” which bids to the central government for funding (Wilkins, 2017, p. 175). Following the forced academisation of ‘failing’ schools, so positioned prior to 2010, all other schools were encouraged to follow this model post 2010. By January 2018 72% of English secondary schools were reported as operating as academies (National Audit Office, 2018) up by 21.7% from 2012 (Shepherd, 2012). The coalition government argued that through giving schools greater autonomy, independent of the state, student achievement would increase (Adonis, 2012; DfE, 2010b; Keddie, 2015; Woods and Simkins, 2014). However, Salokangas and Chapman (2014, p. 383) argue that autonomy to impact on student outcomes gained

² OFSTED is the Office for Standards in Education, Children’s Services and Skills. They operate independently of the government to inspect education services, reporting findings directly to Parliament.

³ The Conservative Party won the most seats in Parliament but not an overall majority and therefore formed a coalition government with the Liberal Democrats.

from academy status varies considerably between schools and is dependent on the “decision-making competence” of the sponsor. It could be said that the action of depoliticising schools, away from local authority governance, has paradoxically re-politicised them and tied them to the centre of government once more as “modernising agents of state power” (Wilkins, 2017, p. 182), eroding the importance of, and attention to, the politics of teacher and student voice and power, also occluding the politics of the gendering of school and the teaching profession.

Education primarily viewed through an economic lens and driven by market principles has meant that schools have become dominated by measures of accountability, performance and targets as means of driving up standards and to support the inclusion of those from beyond the educational privilege of middle-class status (Pring, 2012). One of the effects of this drive, has been that teachers have gradually found themselves with less professional autonomy (Bragg, 2007), and more accountable within an audit culture that must comply with a competitive metric (Ball, 2004). I critique this *modus operandi* which has become overly bureaucratic for the teacher. However I also acknowledge that schools with more autonomy in the past were not necessarily more effective in attending to social inequalities. The idea of comprehensive education, introduced in 1965 (McCulloch, 2016), was never really given time to address social injustices and educational inequalities that had existed within a system that had primarily directed working-class students to secondary modern schools, and middle-class students to grammar schools since the end of the Second World War (Long, Foster and Roberts, 2018). I acknowledge that accountability measures came into play to transform a system that had already let down the lower social classes. However, the focus of these reforms completely misrecognises the biases of both the curriculum and the hidden curriculum (Killick, 2016).

In 2016 new measures of accountability were implemented in the form of ‘Attainment 8’ and ‘Progress 8’ (DfE, 2015b). Both of these measures focus on student performance to enable comparisons between schools. Attainment 8 reports on student attainment across eight GCSEs and Progress 8 reports on the progress of students from the time they leave primary school to the end of their school life at 18 years of age. Academies have more autonomy over their admissions process and some have targeted students

that will contribute to higher Attainment 8 and Progress 8 outcomes. This ever-increasing orientation to competitiveness in education shapes the way that Meadowside represents itself as a school institution (Tomlinson, 2005). Reflecting on this representation of a fast-paced academy which targets its time and resources on constantly driving up standards, accounts for increasing demands upon the ‘emotional lives’ of teachers who negotiate who they can possibly be as professionals alongside ensuring their compliance with the demands of measures of accountability.

Accountability to an academy chain, and to central government, has escalated since 2011 (Keddie, 2015; Salokangas and Chapman, 2014). Scrutiny of teachers over what is taught, how it is taught, external assessment and performance criteria to which they must adhere, has led to teachers constantly being under pressure since the late twentieth century (Ball, 2004). Accountability measures require teachers to show regular progress of students according to imposed external criteria with little room for reflective teaching practices which research suggests impacts on teacher’s ‘emotional lives’ (Fielding, 2001) where an audit culture creates performative, unreflexive practices that become normalised (Wilkins, 2015).

Whilst academies are removed from local authority control and supposedly granted more autonomy, they are still required, nevertheless, to adhere to equality legislation of the UK government. Mandated equality legislation provides advice on equality duties of the school, although the DfE (2018, p. 31) states that, “nothing in this advice is intended to be prescriptive”. Each academy produces its own equality documentation to comply with legislation that no member of the school community should be discriminated against because of a protected characteristic (sex, race, disability, religion or belief, sexual orientation, gender reassignment, pregnancy or maternity). Policy documents at Meadowside comply with equality legislation where equality is a performance indicator captured on the school’s website.

This raises questions about the ‘doing’ of such policy documents. Ahmed’s (2012) diversity research argues that written equality policies can become ineffective in tackling everyday lived experiences of aspects of inequality in higher education contexts. Relating this to the experience of women teachers in schools, it would seem that human resources are drained away from interrogating the *doing* of equality within the ongoing

practices of teaching. In line with Ahmed's argumentation, equality policy compliance could be said to do little to challenge day-to-day reproductions of inequalities, including those relating to gender, that render women teachers as disadvantaged within an institutional structure that assumes white, male heterosexual values as the norm. Ahmed (2017, p. 137) asserts the logic of the equality policies as that of the 'non-performative' that produces and reproduces ongoing inequalities and exclusions of those who are least powerful. For example, someone in a leadership position might refer a woman teacher, who reports an experience of sexism, back to a series of processes and procedures outlined in policy documentation, without acknowledging the feelings and emotions this engenders. This can have the effect of feeling difficult, time-consuming, legalistic, disabling and silencing. There is a need to invest time in listening to women teachers as they voice their own sense of their 'emotional lives' in school against the backdrop of the governmental frameworks that shape the assumptions of the early twenty-first century academy secondary school in a region of England (Acker and Dillabough, 2007; Braun, 2012; Cain and Harris, 2013; Fineman, 2003; Forrester, 2005; Meng, 2009; Murray, 2012).

1.3 Research focus

This thesis is a post-structural qualitative study which explores the 'emotional lives' of three women teachers working in Meadowside, in the east of England. The data are derived from individual semi-structured interviews which become 'interrupted' by auto-ethnographic accounts which acknowledge that my affinity with the women I interview is close and that the boundary between teacher and researcher is porous and productive of reflexivity. Whilst this study does not make claims to generate insights that are representative of women teachers in all/any other secondary schools, it does suggest some key insights that may have wider applicability within similar environments through time and space. Specifically, it brings to light the hidden places where gender inequality resides and that cannot be allowed to be acknowledged within a de-politicized professional discursive regime.

Working within a post-structural paradigm, (which I discuss in-depth in Chapter Three) allows me to hold open the conceptual framing of 'emotional lives' as fluctuating, fluid, contested and none-the-less centrally important as a largely unacknowledged discourse

of a gendered teaching profession worthy of illumination. Broadly speaking I take ‘emotional lives’ to mean matters of teachers’ emotions that are socially organised, attached to visible bodies and historically framed (Schutz, 2014) within a context of what Ball (2003) discusses as the hyper-rationalisation of education in school. In this hyper-rationalised institution, difference is not read through bodies. Instead, what is read is a value, a grade accorded to each student by virtue of the effort of the teacher professional. Students get angry, staff get upset, all sorts happen but such things are mere flotsam and jetsam.

My study concerns itself with emotions of women teachers as they busily perform all of the other demands made upon them in terms of multiple discourses acting upon them and making demands of them in terms of their ‘emotional life’. Throughout the thesis, I use the term ‘emotionality’ to refer to observable (and unobservable) emotions that might bind women teachers together through their circulation and exchange (Ahmed, 2004b). I focus on existing literature and research in Chapter Two. This shows that there is limited research in England concerning the emotional lives of women teachers. This study is therefore to contribute to ongoing debates about why emotional lives matter, and may need to matter much more in policy and practice terms, if we are to address the retention of women teachers in the teaching profession.

1.4 The cultural and political power of emotions

Ahmed (2004a) constructs the human subject as contingently and interactionally formed through emotion within the world. She argues that emotion is often “viewed as ‘beneath’ the faculties of thought and reason” and consequently emotions can work to subordinate women’s bodies (Ahmed, 2004a, p. 3). She explores the place of emotions in the public sphere and talks about what emotions do and how they circulate rather than what they are. Refuting the idea that emotions are individual and private Ahmed instead ties emotions to culture and power and focuses on their “stickiness” (Ahmed, 2004a, p. 10), their skill in marrying the body with particular signs, including those of language (Ahmed, 2004b, p. 130). Ahmed’s ideas that emotions do things and align individuals with communities, bodily spaces and social spaces through the intensity of attachments are central to my thesis. Ahmed’s post-structural positioning informs my

onto-epistemic ideas that emotions are an informed and political bodily response to something external to the body and which impinge upon it.

I theorise emotions through Ahmed (2004b) and in particular her notion of “affective economies” which bind subjects together through circulation and exchange, discussed further in Chapter Two, section 2.1.3. I seek to explore how an affective economy aligns certain bodies, those of women teachers, to become read as having certain characteristics. Drawing on the work of Ahmed (2004a, 2004b), I assert that some women teachers are driven to masking their emotions, negotiating their ontological vulnerabilities with their awareness of some of the consequences of ‘exposure’ and a fear of failing (knowing that exposure might ‘stick’ especially to a teacher placed on competency measures, negotiating their maternity leave, for example).

In my research I understand teaching as ‘performative’ and consequently I consider teachers to be ‘*doing*’ emotions day in and day out. When using ‘performativity’ I draw from Butler’s theorisations (2004, 1999, 1990) which are concerned with a process of repetition which brings into being that which it names. Butler (1990) explores how discourses work to define bodies and argues that it is on the surfaces of bodies that gender becomes visible through various signs such as clothing, gestures and emotions. Butler is concerned that regulating discourses, such as those of emotion, produce normalised ideas of what it might mean to be a man or a woman (Butler, 1990, p. 173). When ideas of women being more emotional than men become a dominant belief then women and men may act accordingly with regard to how they position themselves in relation to other gendered subjects and the discourses working upon them (Jagger, 2000; Lather, 2007; St. Pierre and Pillow, 1999; St. Pierre, 2000).

My post-structural study takes as axiomatic that it is not enough to say ‘teachers’ and ‘schools’ and that these labels themselves can be read in different ways depending upon both paradigmatic and onto-epistemological understanding of the terms (ideas that I return to in Chapter Three). To this end, ‘teachers’ and ‘schools’ are not objects but contested constructs of language/being/meaning that are made social through discourses. Teachers do not ‘come into being’ as subjects once they are trained and take on their first professional job per se. Rather they are the result of a sequence of recurring acts that form them into the ‘appearance’ of the teacher. Drawing from

Butler's ideas (2004, 1999, 1990) I refer to teachers as constructed and constituted by language and explore what it might mean to be referred to as an 'emotional' 'woman' 'teacher'. Using Butler to argue that there is a performative quality of gender that is not just spoken about but sensed and felt on bodies I contend that this leads to some bodies becoming more vulnerable than others because of their ongoing gendering (I discuss this further in Chapter Two). I want to explore these ideas through taking the lens of emotional lives to interrogate the construct of women as teachers by drawing on the work of Butler (2004, 1999, 1990) and Ahmed (2004a, 2004b). I draw from both writers to deconstruct the idea of 'the teacher' and ask how she might both be named and recognised through what she says and does and through what she feels within the contemporary school. For this reason, I explore gender as an act that brings into being that which it names in a school context.

1.5 Researcher Positionality

Speaking as a teacher, I regularly feel all-consumed by my job and it is not something that I can leave behind at the end of the day. I am well-situated to explore research in emotion because I experience and witness a gamut of emotions on a daily basis that are rarely discussed as part of my professional context. When they are it is often within the context of regulating and managing them, something that doesn't sit comfortably with me as a feminist who believes that emotions are performative and ontologically unstable (Ahmed, 2004a; Boler, 1999; Butler, 2004; Jaggar, 1989; Lutz, 2008) and worthy of being recognised, voiced and given credence. My professional role has somehow occluded my ability to express my emotional life within the institutional setting of the school (discussed further in Chapter Three).

1.6 Summary and structure of thesis

This chapter has outlined the main focus and rationale for my research contextualising it amid the current climate of continued teacher attrition in England in the 21st century (Lynch et al., 2016). Through researching the emotional lives of women teachers in one academy school in the east of England I draw attention to the wider politics of gender discourses in our everyday lives. I foreground the post-structural thinking of Butler (2004, 1990) and Ahmed (2004a, 2004b) because I anticipate a plurality of voices on

emotions and gender and seek to trouble traditional normative assumptions that amass them as 'one'.

The following chapter locates the thesis within the research literature where I explore and theorise the concepts of emotions and gender. Firstly I present an in-depth review of the literature on emotions that maps these as often assumed and individualised. This is followed and interrogated by a range of post-foundational literatures locating emotions and emotionality as socially relational and performative. It challenges their normativity and fixity. The discussion moves on to theories of gender, where I critique dominant theories which conflate gender and sex before I turn to post-structural understandings of gender as performative. The final section (2.6) outlines my research questions. Chapter Three describes the methodology and methods used in this research and provides a rationale for my methodological position. Chapter Four presents my analysis of the data in two sections that align to my sub-questions. In so doing, I begin with a discussion concerning discrimination and sexism of which the women teachers speak (section 4.1). What follows is then an analysis of the impact of 'visible bodies' within the school institution. The next section (4.2) discusses the challenges of teaching boy students, in particular, alongside a consideration of the spatial dimension of the school and its effects on women teachers' emotional lives. The chapter concludes with a discussion of part-time working, pregnant bodies and intersection of motherhood with professional teacher status. Chapter Five discusses the conclusions of this thesis including reflections on the methodological approach, the contribution to knowledge and future recommendations.

Chapter Two

Literature Review

Introduction

In this chapter, concepts and discourses of emotions and gender are explored in relation to women teachers. It interrogates a body of literature that relates to key conceptual ideas and research 'objects' within my study. Centrally it focuses on questioning a normative literature that reads across ideas of emotion/s, emotionality and categories of women/man that essentialise attributes of sex and emotion. Against the normative literatures which are vast, I read a wide-range of post-foundational research that locates emotions and emotionality within less-bounded subject knowledge frameworks in order to locate them socially and relationally as performative dynamics of gendering processes that produce, and contest, the fixity of 'woman' and 'man' categories.

I interrogate assumptions that emotions relate to a natural state of mind which then cause certain behaviours that are biologically determined and necessarily different for women and men. This leads me to ask what is at stake in the 'doing' of gender within assumed categories of women and men as professionals in the institution of the school. Although I am focusing on 'women' who are teachers I do not however accept that binary categories of gender are natural and known. Instead I draw from Scott (2007, p. 1065) who argues that "we must find ways (however imperfect) to continually subject our categories to criticism, our analyses to self-criticism". I argue that through naming women teachers, and discussing the language used about them, I can unsettle pre-existing ways of thinking. I have challenged my own ideas by thinking about the literature in this chapter in new ways. I explore the rich gendered subjectivities that lie beneath the professional identities of women teachers and I am encouraged by my reading of Patti Lather's (2007, p. 153) book "Getting Lost" in which she engages me through bringing feminist post-structural ideas to the forefront. She reminds me that "the necessary experience of the impossible" challenges the status quo of research that has gone before and fosters new questions and reflections that are important for different ways of thinking. She argues that all social meanings are contextual, relational and contingent and therefore to think differently requires unsettling pre-existing meanings.

I acknowledge that through focusing on ‘emotion’, ‘emotionality’, ‘emotional lives’ alongside ‘women’ and ‘teachers’ that I am in danger of delineating something in language which I wish to “trouble” (Lather, 1996, p. 534). I also recognise that these terms are in an ongoing process of being constructed, co-constructed, deconstructed and re-constructed within discourse. I therefore seek to avoid defining terms in psychological and individualistic ways rather seeking to reference them as produced through multiple discourses.

By discourse I mean the productive way that we speak about something that can work in a material way through the school institution to construct realities that can control both the actions and bodies of people (Dunne, Pryor and Yates, 2005). My literature review progresses from a discussion on emotions onto literature drawn from psychological, sociological and education journals on gender differences and rules and the performativity of emotions. In the final section I discuss the literature on gendered and relational spaces because I apply ideas of emotional rules within the institution.

2.1 Theoretical framings of emotion

Here, I outline the different assumptions about emotions from a range of philosophical stances. I begin by presenting a brief archaeology of the history of ideas of emotion and their relationship to assumptions of rational thought and knowledge creation. What then follows is a section on the dominant ideas that claim emotions to be private, individual and measurable. The final section explores emotions as social constructs which assume emotions as social, cultural and relational productions.

2.1.1 Histories of thinking and their dismissal of emotions

Socrates disconnected the terms emotion and reasoning (Brickhouse and Smith, 2015, p. 10; Lewis et al., 2010, p. 3). Brickhouse and Smith, (2015, p. 26) outline the cognitivist positioning of Socrates’ on emotions: he “seems to think that they [emotions] can make someone experiencing them resistant to reasoning”. They discuss the idea that emotion has traditionally been viewed as individual, biological and antagonistic to rationality. Kantian notions of The Enlightenment and assumptions of the superiority of rationality were a way of overcoming emotions and advocating unfeeling knowledge (Dillabough, 1999). Dillabough (1999) describes how Kant is noted for the ways he constructs humans (as ‘man’) with the obligation to use their skills of reasoning to emancipate and

improve society. Women and “their ‘emotionality’ and sexuality were viewed as a threat to the rational state” and as such male rationality, aside from emotion, became the “normative political ideal” (Dillabough, 1999, p. 376). This ideal perpetuated the notion that men legitimately represent the political and public sphere with emotion acting as an exclusionary force for women who were assumed to be inherently ‘afflicted’ by emotions. Ashforth and Humphrey (1995) suggest that the history of emotion and a quest for objective scientific truths have relegated emotions to an inner world in conflict with reasoning, hence literature on individual emotion emerges as the antithesis of the rational and reasoned thought.

2.1.2 Individual emotions

Traditional psychological approaches view emotions as individualistic: primarily bodily and secondly cognitised. They are intrapsychic. However, within psychological literature, there is little agreement when offering a definition of emotion due to the multifaceted views of psychologists themselves (Cornelius, 1996; Damasio, 2000, 2005; Goleman, 1996; Gross and John, 2003; Hagenauer and Volet, 2014; Meyer and Turner, 2002; Ochsner and Gross, 2005; Schutz and DeCuir, 2002; Schutz and Lanehart, 2002). Cornelius (1996, p. 12) frames the four main theoretical traditions on emotions in Psychology in the 1990s in his book “The Science of Emotions”. They are: Darwinian, where emotions are universal and adaptive; Jamesian, where emotions are bodily responses; Cognitive, where emotions are based on thought processes and Social Constructivist, where emotions serve social purposes. Cornelius draws attention to a fifth neurological approach which is interwoven within the other frameworks. His early writings deny the significance of the independent neurological view of emotions which is disputed by those working within the field of neuroscience who argue that emotions play a central role in human reasoning suggesting differences between genders, see section 2.2.1 (Damasio, 2005; LeDoux, 2012). Such a view challenges the Socratic and Kantian notions of knowledge and rational thought as overcoming emotion.

Believing that individual emotions can be measured, Likert scales are commonly used, within social contexts, to provide objective results about emotions we experience (Gross and John, 2003). Gross and John (2003) use them, despite the lack of agreement over a definition of them. Results from Likert scales can be quantitatively analysed through

non-parametric statistical tests (Hagenauer and Volet, 2015). Objective Likert scales are used to study how teachers experience emotion in schools, for example: Mevarech and Maskit (2015); Tuxford and Bradley (2015); Yin (2015). These assumptions about emotions as objective truths that are measurable and decidable conflict with other views, which are discussed later in this chapter.

The idea of emotion as individualised has emerged through the past from different philosophical traditions, for example Socratic and Kantian, shaping its understanding within positivist scientific paradigms. Within psychology, emotion as an object of study has been granted legitimacy over recent decades and has since been brought to the forefront of educational research (Goleman, 1996). This is relevant to my study because these dominant viewpoints may affect how teachers view their own emotional lives and what they choose to speak of. Considering emotion as embedded in the inner world of the person negates the idea that emotion is contextualised, entangled with and produced within social and cultural situations. Zembylas (2007, p. 61) presents a selection of literature on emotion positing that our engagement in “emotion management” suggests that emotion is relational. He argues that questions that we may experience in our inner world are played out externally after we have consciously considered the context.

2.1.3 Emotions as social constructs

Averill (1980) and Lutz (1988) suggest that emotion is best understood as situated within the cultural and the social rather than within the individual per se. Emotions are seen as cultural objects which are experienced as an ongoing responsive process within the complex changing environments in which people find themselves. Within different contexts, sociologists, anthropologists and cultural psychologists explore ideas of the fluidity of emotion. How they are communicated, experienced and understood being dependent on cultural influences and their temporal settings. According to this approach emotions are seen as a “communicative experience” and not situated in the inner world of the individual (Zembylas, 2007, p. 61).

Lutz (1988), a social anthropologist, challenges the western narrative of emotion as internal and rejects the notion that emotions were ever related to biology. For Lutz and White (1986, p. 408) emotion is specifically located within geographical spaces and

relates to the influences of the external interactions of humans. The emotion of teachers and what is deemed acceptable or unacceptable emotionally within the school's organisational structure are responses that shape and affect the way in which school functions (Mumby and Putnam, 1992).

Ratner (2000), a cultural psychologist, suggests that emotion and thought should not be dichotomised, critiquing the traditional views of emotion presented earlier in section 2.1.1. Instead he presents emotion as denoting "feeling sides of thoughts, or thoughtful feelings, rather than feelings as a distinctive phenomenon" (p. 6). Similarly to Lutz (1988), he believes that emotion is culturally located and independent of biological mechanisms. Their approaches are reflected on by Boiger and Mesquita (2012, p. 227), also cultural psychologists, who suggest that emotional constructions should be viewed, "as an ongoing, interactive process that unfolds within relational and cultural contexts". They state that in shifting the psychological thinking from the assumption that emotion *are* constructions towards thinking about *how* these emotions are constructed will help to mitigate any tendencies to oversimplify research findings. They suggest that it is people's emotional responses that enable them to successfully steer their way through dynamically fluid spaces experienced throughout life.

Hargreaves (2000) and Beatty (2000) discuss the sociological research of emotion in schools assuming that responses of teachers are primarily social. For them, emotion as experienced by an individual is 'controlled' by social collaborations in any given schooling context. Hargreaves challenges individualistic views of emotions stating,

Being tactful, caring or passionate as a teacher is treated as largely a matter of personal disposition, moral commitment or private virtue, rather than of how particular ways of organizing teaching shape teachers' emotional experiences (p. 813).

He argues that institutional spaces such as schools have organisational dimensions of emotions. Similarly, Beatty follows this social and interactionist view and suggests that organisational power is "ritually reasserted through strict emotional control and suppression – the maintenance of an exclusively and dominantly rational appearance" (2000, p. 334). She argues that the unemotional has become aligned with "sane" and rational which is re-enacted and normalised within school institutional spaces.

Ahmed (2004b, p. 119) deploys the concept of an “affective economy” to argue that emotions are not the properties of subjects (outer sociological model) or objects (inner psychological model) but instead circulate to “bind subjects together”, in ways that are laden with (affective) value. Her concept of an affective economy is about the way that different emotions adhere to particular human subjects and spaces over time which then “align individuals with communities – or bodily space with social space – through the very intensity of their attachments” (p. 119). Accordingly emotions are socially experienced by different subjects through particular affective economies. Affective economies shape our bodies and emotions through complex political, cultural and social interactions.

Ahmed argues that while some emotions are highly valued others are viewed as undesirable. She examines, for example, the role of fear in sustaining power structures, “fear works to contain some bodies such that they take up less space” (Ahmed, 2004a, p. 69). Fear is attributed to bodies and Ahmed argues that it can both restrict the mobility of some while extending the mobility of others. She continues,

Fear works to align bodily and social space: it works to enable some bodies to inhabit and move in public space through restricting the mobility of other bodies to spaces that are enclosed or contained (p. 70).

Spaces therefore become claimed by some bodies that can circulate as a regulatory influence over the bodies of others through the different perceptions of fear. The “stickiness” of an affective economy means that evaluative judgements become deeply internalised. The implication of this is that some manifestations of emotion cannot be expressed or acknowledged within the professional discourse of the school.

Over time emotions have stuck to women teachers especially because of the ways that the school institutional space is gendered which affects how it can then be occupied (Puwar, 2004). Hutchison and Bleiker (2017) argue that emotions are socially entrenched and constituted through discourse. By naming emotion as a social construct and troubling the normalised notions of emotions as predominantly psychological, cognitive or biological I can begin to open up new ways of thinking about how women teachers come to perform emotion within their institutional roles.

2.2 Theoretical framings of gender

This section outlines the main theoretical understandings of gender which are important for dominant assumptions within the institution of schooling of the rational teacher, drawn from masculine ontologies. I assert that these can normalise gendered behaviours that shape ideas about women teachers as emotional. This can limit the possibilities of who they can be (Acker, 1995; Blackmore, 1996; Bolton, 2007; Forrester, 2005; Nias, 1989). I argue that professional teachers are presumed as ‘de-gendered’ within much educational policy and practice literature (Fineman, 2005, 2003; Flores and Day, 2006; Sachs, 2001) and within the post-political era of the academy model of schooling. However, teachers are positioned within gender discourses which shape how women teachers experience emotions in their everyday working lives (Hebson, Earnshaw and Marchington, 2007). Fineman (2003) suggests that the shift towards a more masculine culture of management and measurable targets in school highlights the marginalisation and devaluation of the traditional emotional qualities allied with women.

Firstly I outline some theorisations that differentiate gender and sex in order to analyse the normalised assumptions of women teachers and how they might be seen as different to men teachers. I discuss some of the biological assumptions made about the difference between women and men within psychological readings of emotion. I then explore some of the social constructions of gender in line with post-structural framings of my research. The final part of this section discusses my alignment with the ideas of Butler (1990) who argues against the dominant framings of sexed and gendered bodies and discusses ways in which gender is performative. This is significant in this study because it aligns a reading of women teachers and emotions by drawing together the ideas of performativity of gender (from Butler) and of emotion (from Ahmed) to shape my analytic framework in subsequent chapters.

2.2.1 Gender and biological sex

Gender and sex are two closely related terms within literature although there is a general agreement that gender is shifting and fluid whereas sex is fixed. The World Health Organisation (WHO, 2019) defines sex as that which pertains to biological and physiological characteristics of men and women whereas gender refers to behaviours,

roles and attributes that are socially constructed. Thus gender can be viewed as something that is ever changing within and across different societies. Scott (2007, p. 1054) argues that gender became more prolifically deployed over the last 50 years as a result of the rise of American feminists who wanted to suggest a relational notion rejecting the biological determinism of sex. Gender became about defining men and women in relation to each other. Therefore it followed that neither one category could be understood without the other.

There is a common argument that biological sex differences between men and women determine their gender behaviours and capabilities. For example neurological research into how brain size, hormone levels and brain function differ between men and women conclude that these produce gender differences (Brizendine, 2007; Gillies and McArthur, 2010; Lenroot and Giedd, 2010; Ruigrok et al., 2014; Sax, 2006). Men with higher testosterone, for example, are said to be more aggressive than women (van Anders, 2013) and the dominance of the left hand side of the brain is said to lead to more rational thought in men and hence women are said to be more emotional (Brizendine, 2007). However these studies involve very small samples and are often from patients who are injured or with extreme behaviours. We should be wary of their generalisations (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, 2003, p. 12). Establishing a biological understanding of gender differences has arguably been placed at the forefront of our social world and in turn has produced categories of men and women that are championed. This is particularly the case in literature on emotionality, as discussed in section 2.1, and may go some way towards explaining the positioning of women teachers within the school institution.

2.2.2 Gender as social construct

While physiology is recognised in some literature as constraining men and women through influencing their gender behaviours and accentuating difference, there is another body of work that focuses on gender as a social construction. Hyde (2005, p. 581), a psychologist, challenges the findings of neurological research and refutes the sexual dimorphism of the human brain instead proposing the 'gender similarities hypothesis' stating that men and women are "more alike than they are different". She reviews 46 meta-analyses and concludes that psychological similarities are more common between the genders than differences. Ten years after Hyde's review of

gender differences Zell, Krizon and Teeter (2015) conducted a review of 106 meta-analyses and their findings supported the gender similarities hypothesis while also highlighting conditions through which gender differences are most noticeable. They argue that there is a tendency among researchers to over rely on a gender binary discourse, allowing this to influence their treatment of variables as relating to one category rather than another. Hyde (2005), for example, argues that ‘male’ hormones are often only studied in relation to men and caring behaviours are often only studied in women which reinforces assumed gender differences and expectations. In section 2.3 I discuss the gendering of emotions and challenge some of this dominant literature about women and assumed biological differences. I critique theories that work with a normative ‘woman teacher’ subject position within my subsequent analysis. The data both re-ascribe normative assumptions of the category of ‘women teachers’ as emotional whilst also challenging it.

De Beauvoir (1949, 2010, p. 14) famously said “One is not born, but rather becomes, woman”. A statement referring to gender as a social and self-policing process, rather than innate, where women learn to be understood as women in their social and cultural context. Similarly Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (2003, p. 30) state that “As we age, we continue to learn new ways of being men and women”. They understand gender as a social process of ‘doing gender’ as opposed to the traditional psychological research which conceptualises gender as ‘being a gender’. It follows therefore, that we learn to be gendered (West and Zimmerman, 1987, p. 126). Naming a baby at birth as a boy or a girl assigns it to a lifetime of what its gender can be (Butler, 2011). Language can be key to our understanding of gender because through naming a baby we then treat it as a boy or girl and over time the child does its own gender work in line with the naming (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, 2003, p. 16). The neurological literature might argue that if gender pertained to sex then the baby itself would become its gender through its physiological characteristics. However the literature discussed in this section disputes such claims, and instead insists on a heterogeneity of women and men as shaping their performance of gender.

Bellinger and Gleason (1982) suggest that the ongoing process of becoming gendered is fuelled and led by caregivers who, following the naming and sexing of the child,

encourage or enforce stereotypical play behaviours and/or stereotypical clothing. Similarly, drawing from a developmental perspective, Maccoby (2002) states that by the time children are three years old many have a very clear understanding of their own gender classification as a result of learning that these differences exist all around them. This literature assumes that individuals adopt labels that ally with their sex category at birth and then conform to the gender subjectivities most closely associated with this. This idea of being able to learn and 'do' gender was drawn on by Dr Money and his research on David Reimer, a baby born a boy but raised as a girl, Brenda (Money and Ehrhardt, 1996). Money believed that new-borns were gender neutral and that gender could be assigned to a child through the process of reinforcing it throughout their childhood. However, despite Dr Money's widely circulated claims of success others were more critical (Gaetano, 2017). Brenda was diagnosed with severe depression and suicidal thoughts, and having reverted back to David as a teenager eventually took his own life. This might suggest that gender cannot be fully shaped through social conditioning. However Warnke (2010) argues that David's behaviour might be more of a symptom of the stress that he was under from the social pressures of Dr Money's regular counselling sessions and his parents to act and dress how a girl should, thus contesting the absolute nature of these claims.

Flax (1987) demonstrates that the gender categories of man and woman vary widely across different cultures, in terms of their characteristics, therefore contesting the power-laden ideas of concepts of doing gender (Jackson and Sullivan, 1999; Nanda, 1998). The heteronormative relationship between sexed bodies and gendered subjectivities has posed challenges for those that do not conform to them. Ekins and King (2001), for example, consider the different ways that individuals can break free from the traditional binary divisions of gender through their discussions of transgendered bodies. They argue, alongside other researchers, that gender goes beyond the dominant subjectivities of what a woman and a man can be and they consider individuals who work to reimagine and reproduce gender (Bono and Fitzpatrick, 2012; Mock, 2014; Stryker, 1998).

The concept of gender is central to my thesis since it is core to the constitution of women teachers and what might be expected of them within the secondary school milieu. My

ideas are drawn from Butler's (1990) book 'Gender Trouble' in which she argues against the dominant traditional framings of sexed and gendered bodies. In Butler's early work sex is defined through biology whereas gender is constructed through culture. She argues that different behaviours do not naturally belong to men and women although are often assumed to because there is a tendency to follow the dominant discourses that speak of sex and gender as one and the same.

The limits of the discursive analysis of gender presuppose and pre-empt the possibilities of imaginable and realizable gender configurations within culture. This is not to say that any and all gendered possibilities are open, but that the boundaries of analysis suggest the limits of a discursively conditioned experience. These limits are always set within the terms of a hegemonic cultural discourse predicated on binary structures that appear as the language of universal rationality. Constraint is thus built into what the language constitutes as the imaginable domain of gender (Butler, 1990, p. 9).

Butler interrupts a binary approach by arguing that gender is performative, that is to say that it is accomplished by *doing* rather than *being* something. She claims that repetitive gendered acts are performative because they produce a series of effects. Individuals are engaged in ongoing actions through which they experience gender which in turn presumes gender is unstable and ever shifting. It is through gaps in these performances that discursive spaces are opened up that create opportunities for alternatives. Butler (2004) discusses the different ways in which gender is regulated through discourse that align certain roles and behaviours with doing masculinity or femininity. To express a gender therefore is when an individual performs what society establishes the characteristics of that gender to be, a set of social norms which "precede and exceed the subject" (Butler, 1999, p. 192). It then follows that the way that our gendered bodies are talked about and interpellated makes a difference to our bodies. Butler suggests therefore that the conceptualisation of a 'woman' is problematic because this is a construct that is fluid, unstable and evolving as society changes.

Influenced by Butler's theory on performativity I challenge the notion of teachers' 'dispositions' as pertaining to the individual and instead argue that they are a performative act (Butler, 1997). This study engages with the performativity of gender within the secondary school institution and how the experiences of the women teacher participants are discursively and socially constructed through the repetition of emotions and acts associated with ideas of emotions. Applying Butler's work on performing

gender into the field of education, women teachers act in a particular way and engage in practices that re-cite these norms. Women teachers are therefore in a continual process of being constituted and reconstituted through the discursive practices of education.

2.3 Performativity of emotions

In this section I combine readings of emotion and gender through exploring post-structural feminist epistemology that considers the way in which gender influences our perceptions of knowledge on emotions as embodied and performative. I focus on dominant discourses that present themselves in academic literature which stress the uncertainty and contestability of gender and emotion and the accounts of the social world these help to construct. This shapes the analysis of my data in subsequent chapters to focus less on emotions as individual and individualising rational and scientific characteristics but rather as discursive thus constituting emotional lives. My analysis (see Chapter Four) explores the practices through which affective economies are known, constructed, de-constructed and experienced (Ahmed, 2004b). Here, I consider how the literature delegitimises the dominant ideas of emotion and gender and how this challenges my own data analysis.

2.3.1 The 'work' of emotions

In section 2.2.2 I outline how Butler's (2004) account of performativity is understood as an iterative and citational process that brings into being that which it names. Butler states that this involves repetition and therefore this helps to reinforce Ahmed's (2004a) discussion of how emotions align to certain bodies, sticking to some and not others and commanding labour unevenly from these bodies, see section 2.1.3. Ahmed (2004a, p. 194) describes this performativity stating that emotions "both generate their objects, and repeat past associations". Combining Butler and Ahmed's approaches I seek to deconstruct the naturalised and essentialist aspects of emotions (as outlined in section 2.1.2), of gender (as outlined in section 2.2.1) and how these might shape the surfaces and bodies of women teachers in my study.

Hochschild (2003, 2012) evolves the concept of emotional work and argues that it is not enough to say that work involves merely physical or intellectual labour. She conceptualises an emotion culture arguing that there are appropriate emotional

responses within organisations which might then involve maintaining an outwardly composed and professional countenance, coining this as emotional labour. Accepting that emotions are embodied in the worker and their previous socialisation Hochschild recognises that these skills are difficult to measure, acknowledging that they go unnoticed as they are deemed feminine qualities. The social meaning that is ascribed to women's bodies therefore draws from the idea that women are at best a sub-type of men (De Beauvoir, 2010). Applying this thinking to women teachers means paying attention to what is expected of them in the institution of the school and what is rather overlooked. Emotional work is an ongoing and evolving aspect of women teachers' day-to-day lives, when they attempt to maintain their composure in light of a multitude of challenges that they might encounter. I draw from Ahmed (2004b) to argue that women teachers caught in a particular affective economy become gendered teacher subjects for whom a particular register of emotions and emotional responses is both required and accorded professional worth.

2.3.2 Gendered emotions

Campbell (1994, p. 63), a feminist theorist, argues that "when we express ourselves we must do so within the constraints of gender". She views emotions as collaboratively formed where emotionality is shifting and dynamic revealing the contradictions of dominant discourses of our culture. This builds on work from Bartky (1990, p. 93) who analysed shame and gender within an education setting to conclude that women students "sense something inferior about themselves without believing themselves to be generally inferior at all". Bartky emphasises occasions when women hold contradictory views to demonstrate that gendered emotions are constituted through dominant spatial discourses, which I go on to discuss further in section 2.4. Jaggar (1989) also considers that emotions reflect the constant interaction between who we are and how we understand the world. She discusses the idea of "outlaw emotions" those that, "are distinguished by their incompatibility with the dominant perceptions and values" (p. 166). She states that these outlaw emotions have historically been forbidden to women (for example, emotions such as anger). Nonetheless, in expressing them women can challenge their position and in turn become empowered (Campbell, 1994).

Relating this literature to women teachers I argue that they may view their emotionality as disempowering or empowering depending on to whom and how it is expressed. Emotionality may be seen as a sign of weakness in their professional role (for example, being found crying in the staffroom) and consequently women teachers may be in conflict about what emotions they can show and in which institutional spaces. Can women teachers empower themselves through reclaiming “outlaw emotions” or will this weaken their professionalism as dominant masculine views of emotionality predominate? Ahmed (2004a) explains that analysing emotions reveals how power can shape both the surface of women teacher’s bodies as well as their worlds. Drawing from this the individual subject therefore emerges “through its very alignment with the collective” (Ahmed, 2004b, p. 128).

Ahmed (2004a, p. 3-4) argues that emotions are deeply integral to the maintenance of social hierarchies because “some emotions are ‘elevated’ as signs of cultivation, whilst others remain ‘lower’ as signs of weakness” becoming “attributes of bodies as a way of transforming what is ‘lower’ or ‘higher’ into bodily traits”. Boler (1999) also explores this, from a feminist stance, and states that viewing emotions as social constructions reveals the contradictions within dominant hierarchies in society, where being emotional can be attributed to some bodies and not others. She draws from Bartky (1990), Campbell (1994) and Jaggar (1989) to explain that emotions reflect particular historical contexts. As the position of women shifts over time, for example as they are required within the work force, the discourses of women and their emotions change and they appear more emotionally robust. She discusses ideas of ‘emotional rules’, and how we internalise these and in turn act *appropriately* according to gender, race and class discourses at any one time. Boler suggests that we are taught “emotional rules” through the social and political agendas of the time and that within education emotions have historically been addressed most commonly in the “aesthetic realm” meaning they can be shaped by dominant discourses and ideologies recognising the body’s material placement in the world (Boler 1999, p. 5).

Jaggar (1989, 2000) argues that any gender differences in emotionality presents the result of the different socialisation of men and women in society, as discussed in section 2.2.2. Dominant discourses are played out through these emotions which may “be

manipulated for social goals” (Fox, 2015, p. 303). Lutz (2002) supports this and explores the problematic dominant discourse of women as compassionate in the home, as a desirable quality, against the backdrop of this being undesirable in the workplace.

The empathetically emotional woman could be seen as the ‘angel of the house’, quickly transformed into a problem in the workplace where she would react oversensitively to the rough and tumble of commerce and workforce discipline (Lutz, 2002, p. 196).

Jaggar (1989, 2000) explores the assumption that emotion clouds the judgements of women and discusses the expression of emotions as problematic at both an individual and societal level. A feminist post-structural approach to emotions concerns attending to the capillaries of power through which discourses operate. Such arguments depend upon destabilising dominant ideas about emotions in the workplace. This leads me to question: how can I explore the performative work of emotion in the school environment?

2.3.3 Emotional rules of the school

Within schools there is an expectation among teaching staff that they keep their emotions under wraps to become “sites of social control” (James, 2008, p. 168). My data suggests teacher emotionality is performative (see Chapter Four, section 4.1.6) and I consider how it might be influenced by the organisational rules and structures of the school (Katila and Merilainen, 2002). What could this mean for the emotional aspects of schools, especially for women teachers as their experiences are entrenched in these discourses? Fineman (2003) argues that where emotions are expressed, by whom and whether these are deemed ‘acceptable’ or not, are governed by social and cultural assumptions. This literature is central to this study as it leads me to question the networks of power within the space of the school and their influence of power on the emotional experiences of women teachers. James (2008, p. 168) reflects further on this,

feelings and emotions in schools are gendered...the rhetoric is that women experience feelings strongly and express their feelings powerfully, whereas men do not and this discourse is employed to shore up a male hegemony where male non-emotional rationality ‘takes precedence over female ‘emotional irrationality’.

Post-structural theorists (such as Ahmed, 2017, 2015; Butler, 2011, 2004; Lather, 2007) agree that modern institutional life inherently privileges masculinity and debars the expression of particular emotions. This invokes Ahmed (2004a, 2004b) and Butler

(2004) arguing that terms like 'women', 'teacher', 'emotional' are themselves performative and sticky and hard to shift as the effects of power percolates into the embodied everyday experiences of life. Normative assumptions about emotions being framed as pertaining to women's bodies and not others becomes taken-for-granted and this may influence the processes of becoming women teachers. My study is working to unsettle these normative conceptual framings.

I work towards exploring how we can constitute emotions in the inter-relational setting of a school that itself is discursively situated. I use Ahmed's (2015, 2012, 2004a, 2004b) arguments to explore women teachers as subjects at given times, the practices that are put upon them and how these might affect their day-to-day professional lives. I am interested in exploring arguments that consider the relational context of emotions which can highlight the failure of the culture to hold men responsible for their actions. Ahmed gives insight to the boundaries formed historically by dominant discourses of white men and their influences on today's societies. I consider why some people are regarded as 'non-emotional' and others are viewed as 'emotional' and through this I can mobilise historical discourses and narrative signs. Viewing educational research in this way might explore ideas concerning teachers as gendered subjects while also permits some insights into the hierarchical structures of the school environment. To describe emotions as performative therefore requires a focus on the expectations on women teachers to comport themselves in certain ways and not others.

2.4 Relational and gendered spaces

The logic of teachers and emotionality argued thus far are dependent upon different paradigmatic ways of thinking through a time/paradigm framework that also requires attention to space. Foregrounding spaces as gendered enables me to consider the social conditions within the institution and how these may affect the differing emotional experiences of women teachers. I draw from geographical framings of space and gendering because these argue that the world is formed through the way that space, objects and people are interrelated (Cresswell, 2013; Gregson and Rose, 2000; Massey, 1994; Murdoch, 2006). Geographic research in these texts discuss space and gender as processes that bring these entities into being. I draw from these relational geographies to demonstrate the multiplicity of voices and discourses that make up space as

negotiated and performative. Through focusing on the spatial dynamics of the school institution it may help to advance a more nuanced understanding of the co-constitutive relationships between women teachers and power including the fluxes and uncertainties that occur when they perform their daily professional roles.

2.4.1 Individual experience of space

Tuan (1979), an influential human geographer, shifted the analytical focus from assuming that space is a single and absolute concept towards instead viewing it as an array of mental constructions created through the interaction of the body and the environment. Tuan shifted geographical thought away from studying the science of the Earth as a closed structural system and instead drew attention to the simultaneous interactions, shifting his focus towards the social sciences. He writes about both space and place suggesting that spaces are transformed into places through an individual's sense-making process. He states that spaces are environments that have not yet been coloured with personal experience. The assumption that spaces and places are uniquely experienced through an individual's thought and reflections was similarly drawn on by Relph (1976, 2008) who presents the two concepts as intertwined. He discusses ideas of place making and belonging alongside "placelessness" which he states is our inability to convert spaces into places (2008, p.90). Both Tuan and Relph assume that individuals experience space and place as a perspective which is a function of bodies. Understanding is bounded by biology and the ability to make mental constructions. A post-structural shift in the 1990s challenged this individual assumption of the perspective of space and instead focused on the multiple and relational sense-making of spaces.

2.4.2 Post-structural framing of space

Locating space relationally is a common theme throughout geographic and sociological literature over the last 25 years and builds on the ideas of both Massey (1994), a geographer, and Spain (1993), a sociologist, who explore how space can be constituted including the ramifications of this. I draw heavily from Massey (2005) who aims to decentre the dominant masculine viewpoints that have previously shaped our understanding of space. She recognises space as "the product of interrelations; as constituted through interactions" (p. 9) and it follows that she therefore views space as

unstable, “always unfinished and open” (p. 111). Massey’s approach to space as relational enables her to acknowledge that there are a multiplicity of possible ways of space ‘becoming’. She conceptualises space as an ongoing social construction within which subjects are able to shape the processes that define it which consequently modifies both it and them over time. She argues that space is always open to resistance because of the heterogeneity of those involved in it. Massey also analyses how we affect and alter spaces just by moving through them. Both Massey’s and Spain’s understandings of space highlight the multiple trajectories of individual experiences within institutions therefore opening them up to contestation.

Fellow human geographers complement Massey’s relational approach to space (Bathelt and Gluckler, 2003; Castree, 2004; Cresswell, 2013; Ettlinger, 2003; Murdoch, 2006; Rose, 1993; Yeung, 2005). Cresswell, for example, states that,

rather than thinking about the inhabited world as a set of discrete things with their own essences (this place, different from that place), we can think about the world as formed through the ways in which things relate to each other (2013, p. 218).

He allies his thinking with Massey’s in that space is “in a constant state of becoming” (p. 220). Similarly Rose, a feminist geographer, has determined that spaces are “extraordinarily complicated” and continually in the process of being made, unmade and remade as individuals move within, between and through them (1993, p. 155). Ettlinger (2003) extends relational thinking of space applying it to collaborative work spaces. She brings people and their ability to relate to each other, through their thoughts and emotions, to the forefront and uses these as a measure for understanding power and change. Within the same paradigm of thought Murdoch (2006) considers different post-structural approaches to space through discussing key thinkers, including Foucault and Deleuze, and argues that attention should be directed to cultural analysis rather than economic structures, which had previously been the focus (Bathelt and Gluckler, 2003; Yeung, 2005). Space in these post-structural readings is thought of as a “performative articulation of power” (Gregson and Rose, 2000, p. 434). These readings provide helpful opportunities to understand and analyse the experiences of women teachers since they are socially embedded and constituted through discourse within the institutional space where they work. This body of literature sees space as an open unbounded system that

is multi-dimensional and enriched by other spaces. Drawing from this I assume that space is subject to multiple sense-making. The performativity of emotions and gender brings spaces into being.

2.4.3 Gendered space

I conclude this section outlining how a lens can be focused on gender and on the school. The relationship between space and gender is explored explicitly by sociologists, geographers and through ethnographic studies of schools (Blackmore, 1996; Coffey and Delamont, 2000; Gordon, 1996; Hanson and Pratt, 2003; McDowell, 1999; Rose, 1993). Blackmore (1996, p. 337), for example, explores the gendered and emotional conflicts that face women head teachers in Australia who progress in their careers as a result of their “caring and sharing leadership and organisational skills” which then became contradictory to their roles as “line managers implementing state imposed educational reforms”. The exclusion of women as policy-makers and mere bodies through which policy is enacted comes at a cost to women’s moral selves causing signs of emotional and physical stress. She argues that repressing negative emotion in school spaces is a major aspect of organisational control which conforms to the dominant discourse of constructing men and organisations as unemotional and therefore more desirable (p. 348).

To view institutional space as gendered means to emphasise the taken-for-granted policies and principles that those leading organisations use to exercise legitimate control. Acker (1990, p. 146), a feminist sociologist, explains that:

To say that an organization, or any other analytic unit, is gendered means that advantage and disadvantage, exploitation and control, action and emotion, meaning and identity, are patterned through and in terms of a distinction between male and female, masculine and feminine.

Acker requires us to examine the embeddedness of gender in the organisation, considering how this shapes the practices. She states that doing this will avoid any assumptions of the neutrality, or lack of politics, of an organisation (Gaines, 2006; Roos, 2008). Spain (1993, p. 147) allies her thinking to that of Acker arguing that, “gendered spaces perspective weaves a common thread through a variety of disciplines connecting them at different points to create a more complex picture than could discipline”. Behaviours deemed appropriate for a woman or a man extend into organisations and

consequently influence these spaces. Spain (1993) states that these expectations of gender roles creates gendered work spaces that are saturated with power hierarchies.

Puwar (2004), a feminist sociologist, argues that space is socially and politically constructed as gendered. This affects the bodies occupying it. She states that one of the biggest challenges of gendered institutional spaces is that traditional white masculine ideals have become the 'universal body' negating the worth of women. She states that professional training rhetoric presents the idea of a 'universal figure' that is disembodied and de-politicised, where the body is assumed irrelevant.

The idea that professional positions have job descriptions drawn up in neutered, neutral and colourless terms holds an enormous power. The story is that, having arrived at the door to the summit of whichever chosen profession, that is, those who are lucky enough to arrive at this point, people will then flourish, develop and be respected, regardless of gender, 'race' or class background (Puwar, 2004, p. 55).

Puwar continues to discuss the construction of masculinity and whiteness as the norm in institutional spaces and how individuals with these characteristics occupy privileged positions. The regulatory masculine body leads to bodily differences being ignored and the white male body becoming assumed "as the invisible somatic norm of political power and moral value" (Ziarek, 2001, p. 3). I draw from this work on the gendering of institutions as masculine spaces and embrace the complexities encountered by women in positions that were either not traditionally designed for them or that assume an idealised way of doing a professional role. As has been previously reported in the literature, married women in the 1920s were banned from teaching across many parts of England to "save the cost of maternity leave and days missed through sickness or care for a woman's sick husband or children" (Acker, 1995, p. 117). Puwar argues that these traditional views still pervade institutions today. I interrogate this view as I engage with my research data.

McGregor (2006) draws from the fields of the sociology of education and feminist geographies in her research into how gender is reproduced in schools (Coffey and Delamont, 2000; Hanson and Pratt, 2003; McDowell, 1999; Rose, 1993). She argues that totalising concepts of 'the school' and 'teachers' encourage us to reinforce assumptions that women and men are the same which "effectively absents the female body and the realities of many women's lives" (p. 7). She continues to state that studying gendered

spaces is “adding a further dimension to the understanding of how powerful gender discourses are constructed and maintained” (p.2). It is through the lens of gender that the school institution can be explored further through the power relations that are maintained and that circulate among men and women. Massey (2013, 1994) states that different spaces can align themselves to particular masculinities or femininities which therefore co-constitute our positionality within them. For example she examines how a woman might avoid certain spaces because she feels excluded from them because of their masculinity. This action in itself reinforces the gender of the woman and the gendering of space. Laurie et al. (2014) explore this further through demonstrating how gendered subjectivities are negotiated through routine interactions within different spaces. They state that unstable subjectivities create spaces of either opportunity or oppression within specific geographical or historical contexts. Massey (1994), Laurie et al. (2014) and McGregor (2006) all agree that organisational structures like schools are already gendered through their histories but within these structures spaces can be responded to differently opening them up to new possibilities that challenge traditional ideas.

A line of analysis within my research will be concerned with exploring how women teachers might take on aspects of mimicking masculine norms which arguably creates a gendered space that avoids being problematized. Gregson and Rose (2000, p. 444), post-structural geographers, analyse the ways in which relational spaces become performative through the processes of men and women engaging with gendered patterns that they “feel competent and knowledgeable about; where they can control the risk”. They argue that the resultant space is then reinforced as one of traditional gendered conventions, for example where women are associated with emotions while men are associated with rational thought, see section 2.1.1. Mawhinney (2008) argues that school staffrooms are used by teachers as a space to both express their emotional lives while also releasing tensions. Using observations and interviews she illustrates that these spaces are integral to the social support of teachers because “the emotional labour of the profession would not allow for these expressions of feelings and perspectives within the classroom” (p. 207). This literature demonstrates that professional roles are intertwined with gendered spaces that assume particular

comportments of being. Dominant ideas of gendered patterns of women teachers may therefore be playing out within schools, and this may be intentional or unintentional, and I will consider this when engaging with my data.

Ahmed (2015) writes about sexist cultures within institutions that may act to construct emotional rules about what can/cannot/should/should not be participated in. She argues that engaging with sexist banter, for example, is often rewarded within institutional spaces.

You might participate in that banter because it is costly not to participate: you become the one who is disapproving or 'uptight'. You are judged as taking something *the wrong way* when you object to something: 'I didn't mean anything by it'. And indeed then by taking something said or done *the wrong way*, you are judged not only as wrong but as wronging someone else (Ahmed, 2015, p. 9).

Ahmed explains that unwritten rules of sexist banter are problematic for those who draw attention to them because they are "justified and neutralised as the way things are" (p. 10). Whitley and Page (2015, p. 42) explore sexual harassment in the university institution setting and argue that laughter during open displays of sexist banter or harassment can condone or enable the behaviour. When sexist banter is brushed aside it is then not recognised as serious and in turn it becomes normalised (Shakeshaft, 1992). When women stand up and speak out and refuse to just 'go along with it' they are constructed as boring or as causing trouble, placing them as the one who "gets in the way" of the success and harmony of the institution (Ahmed, 2012, p. 147).

2.4.4 Who is the teacher in this space?

The literature discussed in this chapter has revealed some of the complex ways in which emotions and institutional spaces can be illustrative of the broader gender order. Women teachers cannot be separated from the dominant historical discourses that circulate about them (Acker, 1990; Blackmore, 1996; Fineman, 2003). I conclude this section with a short discussion on how concepts of 'teacher' are framed around rationality where women teachers are constructed through discourses outside of professional framings whilst being required to conform to them.

Some teaching and education journals that consider the *subject* of a teacher as dynamic and fluid, shifting over time. An individual's internal influences, such as emotion

(Zembylas, 2007, 2003b, 2003a), and external influences such as policy changes and context (Flores and Day, 2006) are intertwined and as such a *teacher* is, in essence, transformative. I have highlighted in earlier sections that there is an assumption within some literature that women teachers are traditionally allied with feminine qualities and this can be troubling for the current performative culture. MacLure (1993) and Sachs (2001) state that teachers are constantly negotiating what it means to be a teacher. MacLure discusses teacher subjectivity as an organising device that is tightly interwoven with the various biographies of teachers and how these impact on the decisions made. This resonates with my reading of a body of policy literature of Ball (2003) and Tomlinson (2005) who argue that teachers find themselves in ever changing political and economic landscapes (see Chapter 1, section 1.2). Within these landscapes there is a drive towards greater efficiency and measurable outcomes that govern the soul of the teacher (Ball, 2003). Who teachers are as subjects is fragmented and fragile and as such they can experience ongoing vulnerabilities (Kelchtermans, 1996). Butler (2010) suggests that vulnerability is itself performative and something that should be embraced ontologically, that just is rather than something that can be overcome to make us resilient (cited in Bell, 2010). She argues that resistance requires that we be vulnerable and that this vulnerability is a position of strength rather than a weakness. If women teachers are able to draw on their individual experiences then their own personal autonomy could elicit some form of agency in the space. In doing this they may be able to address the vulnerabilities that often ally themselves with the uncertainty of 'doing the right thing' as teachers decide between their own moral beliefs and experience and the policy makers' new initiatives.

Teachers are in an ongoing process of being constituted and reconstituted through the discursive practices within education. Butler (2004) posits that there can be no woman outside of the language used about/by/to/between them. When I view teachers performatively exercising their profession through this lens of Butler's then teaching becomes paradoxical. Teaching is about doing and at the same time it is about thinking about doing. Butler's ideas are helpful to me in supporting my deconstruction of women teachers' emotional lives.

This literature on the spatial aspects of the school institution is important for my analysis. It raises my awareness of the masculine norms within the secondary school space and how women teachers might be forced to become legitimate as professionals within these particular framings. The institutional space may impose a limited view on what it means to be a 'good' teacher and as such might determine what these women teachers can then speak of within the space in order to align themselves with the norm. This may be a form of silencing of their gendered bodies through a requirement that they only ever share the 'right' emotional experiences or suppressing others.

2.5 Conclusion

In summary, I have presented the main conceptual frameworks of emotions, gender, performativity of emotions and relational spaces which are central to this study. This chapter began with a presentation of how emotions are represented within literature. It moved on to a social constructionist approach to emotion and drew from the work of Ahmed on the affective economy. Following this I outlined how gender and sex are naturalised within literature and I framed my conceptualisation of gender as a social construct in line with the work of Butler. This was followed by a discussion on the gendering of emotions and their performativity. I then turned my attention to Massey's theories on relational and gendered spaces and what these might reveal about the institutional spaces in which women teachers work in school. This review of the literature shaped my research questions.

2.6 Research Questions

Having initially thought that research questions were required to be identified once and for all, I became reassured that their metamorphosis is part of the contingent and dynamic evolution of social scientific research (Creswell, 2013; Dunne, Pryor and Yates, 2005). The overarching research question has therefore evolved to become: 'How can the 'emotional lives' of women teachers be understood within a particular academy school in England?' This presumes and permits two sub-questions:

- What are the affective economies of women teachers' 'emotional lives'?
- How is space implicated in this affective economy?

The first sub-question explores how the affective might be characterised. The second sub-question draws on the idea of relational and gendered spaces to explore the multiplicity of voices and discourses that make up what women teachers can negotiate and perform. The chapter that follows outlines my methodological approach and the philosophical assumptions that inform this study.

Chapter Three

Methodology

This chapter begins with a discussion concerning the philosophical assumptions underpinning my methodological and theoretical approaches to my substantive research topic. I have generated a logic for this which explores my own positionality assumed within my ontological framing of the study and also contributing to its epistemological outcomes. I outline the research setting and also the selection of the participants. This has considerable import due to my privileging of depth and richness of the sample and its reliance on ‘three voices’. The next section critically reviews my data collection methods of semi-structured interviews in combination with what I call my own ‘reflexive notes’. This is followed by an account of my data processing and analysis practices. The final section discusses the situated and relational ethical issues that have arisen during the research process which have contributed to the ‘what’ and the ‘how’ of my original contribution to knowledge.

3.1 Methodological and theoretical approach

My methodological approach has emerged from my engagement with post-structural theories which seek to unsettle pre-existing structures of thinking i.e. deconstructing them. Lather (2007, p. 267) describes post-structural research as “thinking and doing otherwise” arguing that all social meanings are contextual, relational and contingent. I draw from her deconstructed notions of expert and authority “problematizing the researcher as ‘the one who knows’” and instead position myself as somewhat unknowing (Lather, 2007, p. 11).

My ontological presumption suggests that in any given account there are many different ways of making sense of reality. Using a post-structural framework means that I attempt to gain some understanding of *how* I come to understand myself and others and I question the production of contextualised meanings. My research focuses on the emotional lives of women who are teachers. I explore the tensions that may exist between multiple realities and ways of being. By this I mean theirs but also mine as I both research and represent them. I suspect that there will be multiple interpretations for ‘the truth’ of what constitutes and confounds emotional lives of women teachers

and I will be concerned with the dissonance as well as the commonalities of 'truths' that exist between the different accounts that are presented to me.

3.1.1 Power and discourse

My methodology is informed by Foucault's (1980) concepts of power and discourse which explore the complex web of multiple and competing understandings that subjects have of themselves. Foucault (1978, p. 93) argues that power is and comes from everywhere,

The omnipresence of power: not because it has the privilege of consolidating everything under its invincible unity, but because it is produced from one moment to the next, at every point, or rather in every relation from one point to another. Power is everywhere; not because it embraces everything, but because it comes from everywhere.

Therefore it follows that power is unstable and ever-shifting and not something that is possessed. Power exists in relations which are themselves tied up within discourses. Foucault (1978) conceptualised discourse as a particular set of rules that affect how we construct our realities. I am focusing on the emotional lives of women who are teachers. I am interested in exploring the ways that women who are teachers are understood as discursively constructed and I therefore ally my thinking to that of Ahmed (2010) who argues that there is no way to theorize the felt experience of being/prevented from being/partly being what it may mean to be labelled a 'teacher' who is also a 'woman'. St. Pierre (2000) suggests that power is caught up in discourse because "discourse illustrates how language gathers itself together according to socially constructed rules and regularities that allow certain statements to be made and not others" (p. 485). I am interested in disrupting taken-for-granted ideas about women teachers which can assume their self-determination and autonomy within their professional roles. I explore the relationships that exist between the language that is used by and on them and the power exerted that in turn influences the possibilities of their ways of being both in the interview space but also, more generally, in the professional space of being a woman teacher.

I draw from Foucault's (1978, 1995) work on discourse to provide myself with a way of exploring how women teachers have both positioned themselves and have also been positioned. Scott (1988, p. 35) explains that "discourse is not a language or a text but a

historically, socially, and institutionally specific structure of statements, terms, categories, and beliefs". Women who are teachers may be positioned as those who are emotionally 'invested' in their professional role yet at the same time are positioned within dominant hegemonic ideals of teaching as an objectively measurable profession which demands that they act in an unbiased way (O'Connor, 2008). Using post-structural theories and ideas of subjectivity is therefore highly pertinent to my research in negotiating conflicting discourses.

I challenge and attend to the discursive patterns through which dominant realities are upheld and open them up to scrutiny which in turn enables me to interrupt practices of the everyday that may be assumed as normal or inevitable. For example as St. Pierre (2000, p. 485) reminds us, any thinking outside of a dominant discourse is considered "outside the realm of possibility" but this idea can and indeed should be contested because it then enables resistance to become a possibility. Foucault (1980, p. 142) states that "there are no relations of power without resistances". Women teachers are therefore able to reconfigure, conform and challenge the socially constructed truths in which they find themselves working within.

I ally my thinking to that of feminist researchers in order to foreground the politics of patriarchal discourses within the school institution that are producing and reproducing the professional roles of these women teachers, as discussed in Chapter Two (Ahmed, 2017; Butler, 2004; Lather, 2007; MacLure, 2003; Scott, 1988; St. Pierre, 2000). I am engaging with discourse to demonstrate sites of resistance or contestation where women teachers are able to challenge the assumptions of their roles and begin to open up new ways of being. I do not assume that women teachers are a homogenised group by virtue of their gender and profession but instead follow Butler's argument that the point of my research is to "pursue the decentring of the subject and its universalising epistemic strategies" (1990, p. 118).

3.2 Researcher positionality and reflexivity

Throughout the research process I grapple with the many and complex tensions between the research subject and my positionality. Griffiths (2009, p. 16) states that positionality refers to "the social and political landscape inhabited by a researcher (e.g. gender, nationality, race, religion, social class and social status)". I take the view that all

knowledge is situated within these varied contexts and thus as researcher I am key to this knowledge creating process and therefore do not detach myself and present as an authority figure viewing from the outside (Goodson, 1995). I understand that women teachers are positioned within discourses that create particular ways of being. Similarly the discourses within which I am located and draw from will also impact on me and my research.

I have been employed as a teacher for over 15 years and I position myself as an insider within the institution. However, at times during the research process this position has been challenged. I acknowledge that I share the status of 'teacher' and 'woman' with my participants and discuss the idea with them that we are involved in a process of collaboration and the co-construction of knowledge rather than in a judgement. However there are positional differences between us. I am regularly reminded of one of these differences through being referred to, and considering myself as, a researcher. I feel a dissonance between how I am positioned as a practising teacher while at the same time being a researcher. I make a note of this in my reflexive notes prior to conducting interviews.

"oh you're doing that research aren't you?" "I hope you can speak out about everything that goes on, I mean they don't put this in the adverts do they?" I've been labelled as a researcher and I'm beginning to realise that this in and of itself is highlighting difference. How does this matter? I know all about balancing workloads, new initiatives, defiant teenagers, marking, data entry, setting detentions, phoning home, replying to emails, skipping lunch, not being able to go to the toilet when you want, feeling overwhelmed and never getting to the end of a to do list. I am in it. I think of myself as an insider. I hope that my participants view me in the same way (Reflexive notes 1/2/17).

In this extract I position myself within a teaching professional discourse whilst at the same time I am also being placed within a researcher discourse. This teaching professional discourse is characterised through the belief that as teachers we are the ones who know the realities of the teaching day. I remind myself that discourses are shaping what can and cannot be known and said. This is important for my research because I recognise that I am part of an inter-relational conjuncture as power shifts moment-by-moment.

I am mindful that my experiences are shaping how I approach my research and I attend to my reflexivity in the process. According to Hertz (1997) reflexivity focuses on "an

ongoing conversation about experience while simultaneously living in the moment” (p. viii). This focus enables me to consider my shifting positionality within the research and although it raises issues about my own legitimacy to make judgements and represent my findings legitimately (Dunne, Pryor and Yates 2005), I embrace this as one of the strengths of my research. I do not claim a single purpose or meaning and instead embrace the ‘messiness’ of the different threads of data, their positioning, the tensions that exist between them and the feelings that they evoke. I acknowledge the importance of reflexivity while also recognising that the meaning-making process between myself and the researched can present its own issues (Lather, 1993, p. 685). I am ‘orchestrating’ this thesis and the outcome is my representation of the data (Pillow, 2003; Reay, 1996). The complexities and confusions that present are embraced as a strength of my involvement within this post-structural research (Ellis, 1999, p. 675). I am encouraged through my reading that it is precisely these complexities and confusions that create new possibilities and sites of contestation.

3.3 Setting

I chose to conduct research in the school where I was working, Meadowside. One of the reasons for this was that as a full time teacher it would be very difficult to obtain permission for time off to travel to another school and then recruit volunteers. My school leadership team have always spoken of support for my doctoral studies and so another reason for conducting research here was that they would give permission for me to recruit volunteers and conduct interviews on the school site.

Meadowside is an English secondary school established over 50 years ago. It became a self-governing academy in 2011. It currently holds over 1300 students and 120 members of teaching staff. It exists within a region whereby students are selected in their final year of primary school to attend local grammar schools through an exam. Meadowside is a non-selective school and consequently it takes students who have not passed this exam or those who have passed and decided not to attend the local grammar schools. At the time of this research 60% of students attending were from a white British background with the remainder from a wide range of different ethnicities. 35% of students are classified as speaking English as a second language (ESL). 20% of students attend from the local area with the rest travelling between 20 minutes and two hours

from London and areas of Essex and Suffolk. 80% of teaching staff at the school identify as white and 20% as BAME.

Meadowside is an oversubscribed school and has many more applications from students to join than it can provide places for. I note that it feels very full to capacity in the corridors and classrooms with average class sizes of 32 students without any spare seats. I consider that these details might be important because they affect the pressures on teachers' workload, for example quantity of marking, report writing and generally managing the behaviour of large numbers of students in the classroom. I also feel the pressures on us as teachers to maintain this oversubscribed status as we are constantly being reminded that every student brings money into the school at a time when school funding is being reduced and jobs are being merged or not being replaced (Ball, 2003). This has ramifications in terms of upholding positive images of the school and thus it is important to my study because it may impact on the emotional lives of women teachers as they navigate their roles against this backdrop (See Chapter 1, section 1.2).

3.4 Participants

Selection of participants

I recruited three volunteer women teachers because my pilot study, also with three teachers, had provided me with an abundance of rich in-depth data to analyse. In addition I envisaged that very few teachers would volunteer because although they casually asked after my study their participation in it might still be viewed as an additional workload on top of their already busy working days. Ethical approval was gained from the University of Sussex in March 2017 prior to data collection. This ethical review process involved creating an information and consent form, Appendices 1 and 2. I drafted a short paragraph with the title of my study and its aims which was then read to staff during our daily morning briefing. I stipulated my criteria for women teachers with at least two years of experience because I did not want to recruit Newly Qualified Teachers who may already be anxious with their statutory assessments and training which can take over a year to complete. Additionally I did not ask for support staff to volunteer because I want to focus on the teachers as frontline practitioners who are often on their own (by this I refer to their isolation from other adults) which is very rarely the case for support staff. Volunteers were asked to either come and chat to me, leave

a note in my staff pigeon hole or drop me an email. All three volunteers came to speak directly with me about what taking part would entail and we engaged in a couple of casual conversations about my study over the following days, stealing moments on playground duty or when transitioning between classrooms. A couple of weeks later I sought out these three women teachers during the school day and asked them to confirm if they still wanted to take part. I felt that this was an important stage in reiterating that their participation was voluntary, confidential and that they had a right to withdraw now or at any stage. I had given them the information and consent forms to read through and thought that this was sufficient time for them to make an informed decision. All agreed to take part.

The participants were all known to me in a professional capacity but were not working directly alongside me or within my department. This is important for my research because I wanted to avoid any complications that could arise over the performance management review processes for those that I oversee in my own department. The three teachers interviewed had all been teaching for at least five years with the most experienced having been in the profession for 23 years. This is important to mention because it suggests that all participants had been in the career for a long enough period of time to be able to speak confidently on their emotional experiences as practitioners. My study does not claim to be generalisable across a wider teaching spectrum but instead presents robust data from three women teachers who put themselves forward.

Demographics of Participants

I draw from Braun and Clarke (2013, p. 68) who state that it is important to recognise the demographics of my research participants because it “shows the limits of what we can claim and on what basis we can claim it”. I am focusing on women because the assumptions that emotions relate to a natural state and are positioned with feminine and masculine beings is something that I want to explore further, see Chapter 2 section 2.1.3. I accept that I am focusing on one aspect of women teachers and how they experience emotions and I want to look at them as gendered subjects for whom emotion plays out in different contexts (Ahmed, 2010). I am questioning the possibility for women teachers’ voices to be heard amid their acculturation within the institution.

I did not specify an age or ethnicity when asking for volunteers. The three women teachers who volunteered were aged between 28 and 56 and were all white British. I acknowledge that in adopting qualitative and feminist methodologies I am reflecting on the relationship between my participants and myself. I shared many qualities with those interviewed including nationality, ethnicity, gender and professional position as a teacher. However I argue that these are simple identifications suggesting an assumed stability that I do not embrace, being concerned rather with a multiplicity of subjectivities that the interview encounters allow.

3.5 Research design

Denzin (1989) states that a qualitative research design holds credence because it “presents detail, context, emotion and the webs of social relationships” (p. 83). I draw from Clarke and Hoggett’s (2009) views on subjectivity as an instrument of knowledge in light of my post-structural learnings within this research. My goal is not to seek a single truth about the emotional lives of women teachers but instead to enable a deeper understanding of their dynamic positionalities through exploring some of the complexities associated with them. A post-structural qualitative research design enables me to explore the richness of teachers’ experiences.

3.6 Research methods

Drawing from a post-structural qualitative research design I have selected two data methods which I discuss further in the following section. Firstly I consider semi-structured interviews and their appropriateness for the topic. Secondly I reflect upon my reflexive notes used throughout the research process that attuned me to my own emotionality and embodied self.

3.6.1 Semi-structured interviews

I chose to use semi-structured interviews with women teachers because these can illuminate events that affect them and their emotional lives, as discussed in my literature review chapter, which have broadened my thinking (Kvale, 1996). This is important because it provides the opportunity for teachers to voice their own experiences and for us to co-construct knowledge as we converse (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009). Semi-structured interviews offer the opportunity for teachers to select their own experiences

which I pay attention to as I ‘make sense’ of what they tell me. Schostak (2006, p. 15) highlights interviews as an opportunity to explore difference and discrepancies that arise from shared experiences. Semi-structured interviews allow a focus on various aspects of women teachers’ lives including their own thoughts about emotions and their perceptions of what this means for gender equality and other dominant professional discourses. Lather (2007, p. 114) encourages me to use my interviews to “open up spaces of contestation in which no position is by nature correct”, whereby I do not lead the teachers in a direction of my own choosing. I give them scope to lead the interviews and then subsequently explore their decentring beyond the way in which they may present themselves as individuals at the mercy of a rational system that is not working ‘quite right’.

The interview structure allows me to ask for more details on complex and uncertain subjects without being tied to a pre-prepared script. MacLure (2006) encourages the embracing of the unexpected. I posit that the unstructured interview design lends itself towards the unexpected with less control over what teachers are directed to reveal. Moreover I borrow from Rubin and Rubin (1995, p. 42) who state that the qualitative interview is “on target while hanging loose”. In my ambition for the interview I prepared questions that were *on target* with reference to my research questions while acknowledging the need to *hang loose* and practice flexibility during the interviews, reacting to often unanticipated responses (see Appendix 3).

I conducted six interviews altogether with the same three women teachers during the school day, with each teacher taking part in two interviews six to ten weeks apart. I initially planned to space interviews over six months to enable transcriptions of the first interviews and the emergence of initial themes that I could then pick up on in second interviews. However these timings were necessarily flexible for a wide-range of reasons including the way in which the schedule might be affected by teacher sickness, maternity leave, school visits, examinations, amongst others. Teachers often cancelled interviews, as they were asked to do ‘cover’ lessons in their ‘free period’. Sometimes they just caught me in the morning to see if I was free to talk on that day. As a result I kept my interview questions and my audio recorder at work locked in my drawer until I had completed the data collection from all of the interviews. I delivered the same prompts

and questions to each participant I encountered. In the follow-up interviews I used the opportunity to clarify and expand on aspects of what was said in the first interview, see Appendix 4.

The first three interviews all took place towards the end of the school year in June and July with the follow-up interviews taking place in the first term between September and December. The timing of the interviews were all dictated to by the school day and hence none were longer than one hour because this is the allocated lesson time or free period at my current school. They were conducted in a classroom which had no window onto a corridor with only a small window in the door itself to ensure some privacy. I ensured that the chairs were positioned opposite each other at a slight angle by moving mine so that we were not directly staring at each other. We both sat on student chairs without a table in between us. I was initially concerned that I needed to find a quiet interview space within the school building as argued by Wengraf (2001) and Braun and Clarke (2013). However, noises and distractions contribute to the everyday of school life and I soon realised that I should be attending to these as part of making-sense of the interview process. I record the following in my reflexive notes.

I recall the displays in the classroom adorned with some form of graffiti as time progressed between interviews, the colours, the uncomfortable chairs, the key terminology on the walls, the nod to examination techniques on the whiteboard, the chewing gum on the carpet, the smells that permeated up from the food technology rooms on the floor below, the shouting coming up from the playground that we could hear through the open windows, the interruptions from students or staff bursting into the room asking us questions, looking for books, the behaviour agreement on the wall that has recently been added into all classrooms that the students take no notice of and roll their eyes at when teachers draw their attention to it [as instructed to] during any classroom infraction. So much around us that we don't talk about. Neither of us bat an eyelid when interrupted. Do we deserve to have access to an uninterrupted space? We expect to be disturbed. The teacher carries on talking, seemingly in her own world ignoring all of the so called distractions around us in the room. (Reflexive notes 21/09/17).

I realise that the interviews were never *quiet*. There were noises, visuals, smells that I take for granted as normal constituents of my day and were not mentioned during the interview by myself or the participant but I want to attend to these. They may have been unmentioned but I do not want them to be unheard and so I turn to my reflexive notes as a reminder of these.

3.6.2 Reflexive notes

In the section that follows I discuss how I use different forms of reflexive notes as part of my research methods. They refer to an amalgam of my written research diary, a repository of my thoughts and reflections, and my audio notes recorded in opportune moments throughout the research process. I appreciate that I have been rethinking my own position of who I am and what has shaped me. I reflexively explore this in section 3.2. Keeping a research diary of my personal experiences allows me to retrospectively write about emotional events that I attend to from my working day. I do not confine my personal experiences and reactions to this research diary and instead I use these reflections to inform my data analysis within my research. Atkinson (1992, p.17) argues that these research notes, or field notes, are a form of representation and never provide a “complete” record in that they are selective in their framing of events and the details recorded. It is this selection of events and details that I am interested in, using my own personal experiences to discern patterns of dominant discourses. I draw from Geertz (1973, p. 19) who argues that writing “turns it [my own experiences] from a passing event, which exists only in its own moment of occurrence, into an account, which exists in its inscription and can be reconsulted”. I use my written notes to review the preserved forms that I have created and explore the deep-rooted feelings and emotions that come through from reading them back.

I embrace the confusion that my research diary presents as a method in itself. What do I record? How do I write things down? Do I record my observations of others, my personal experiences, events that have bothered me, reflections on these events? I struggle answering these questions. My notes are organised while also being disorganised, entries are dated but the writing jumps around as different thoughts enter my mind. I question what naming my research diary as ‘reflexive notes’ can do in the space of my research. Pillow (2003, p. 178) refers to reflexivity as “an ongoing self-awareness” and argues for a move toward encouraging the disclosure of the messiness of the research process, acknowledging that researchers are always “caught in representation” (Campbell, 2004, p. 163). There are moments of peaceful reflection interwoven with despair or anger as a phone call or an email disrupts my thinking. Some notes are given time, space on the page, others are scribbled down in a precious two

minutes before another demand is made of me. It is difficult to articulate how I wrote these compositions. The process was not tied to time or location in the sense that the entries are made during working hours, after, at the weekend, while studying and writing this thesis. I am aware that my gaze shifts to specific events and people at the expense of overlooking others. There is sometimes a sense of ‘wonder’ in my thoughts about how to analyse my data which is also written down in my reflexive notes, see section 3.7.2. Emerson, Fretz and Shaw (1995) argue that I may have been influenced to write more organised and comprehensive notes knowing that I would be drawing from them to inform my thesis had I thought more about them in advance. I acknowledge that these notes are not straight forward and concur with Atkinson (1992, p. 8) that “the limits of what can be understood about the world are set by the boundaries of what can be written and what can be read”. These notes present my version of events through my own filters as a process of representation and construction which I draw on to socially construct and deconstruct my data.

The lack of time during the working day and my hour long commute to my place of work led to my research notes expanding from just note book form. I regularly used my audio recorder during my drive home to record my reflections from the day. I speak out loud about incidences that have affected me, that are playing on my mind and that might resonate with the key questions of my study. I did not transcribe these recordings, but instead listened back to them regularly to remind myself of my thought processes. I am mindful that my research is not ‘therapy’ although there are occasions when I listen and acknowledge the raw emotions that are captured. I have used these recordings as data by referring back to them and listening for ideas and themes that resonate, conflict and compete with the interview transcriptions.

3.7 Data analysis

In this next section I outline the analytical approach towards my data. This process of analysis and interpretation has not been linear. Instead I have drawn from multiple ‘layers’ at different points in my thinking offering some of them more dominance at the expense of others and allowing the process to organically lead me in directions of ‘wonder’, one of the layers. I began with transcribing interviews alongside making notes on my own day-to-day experiences. As I listened back to the interviews, read the

transcripts and my own notes the process of analysis evolved over time as I began to identify and make links between dominant themes. As I read and re-read the transcripts and my own notes ‘wonder’ began to appear (see section 3.7.2). I made summaries of each interview and mapped them to my sub-questions (for an example, see Appendix 5). I steer away from a linear analysis to explore the multiplicity of realities produced from the interpretations of the participants’ experiences. I draw from the post-structural stance that my claims to knowledge are situated (Haraway, 1988) and therefore I approach my data analysis through viewing the emotional lives of teachers as discursively constructed, alongside my journal, as discussed in section 3.1.1.

3.7.1 Transcriptions

I chose to record the interviews to preserve the words, the intonations and the unspoken pauses of the teachers in the hope that these might help me to analyse the data, returning to these original recordings to remind myself of the time and space in which they occurred. I acknowledge that through transcribing the interviews I produce a text that is then being read for meaning. I add punctuation where there was none before and as a result meanings might become ambiguous in the reading of the texts that I produce. I draw from Alldred and Gillies (2012, p. 152) who argue that “representing inter-subjective interaction on a two-dimensional page entails some compromises” especially with reference to punctuation which can in turn shift and fix meaning on a page. The tone and pace of the interviews may be lost in the transcription and as a result the sarcasm, sadness, hurt, anger, bitterness and wry humour may all be open to misrepresentation. I include the pauses, the repetitions and incomprehensible sentences into the main transcription because I want to attend to the detail and make-meaning from the wider subjective experiences beyond reading discourse as ‘only about the words’.

I am painfully aware that I am actively producing the transcript which “therefore bears traces not only of ourselves as interviewer, as the culturally situated and particular individuals we are, but also as interpreters” (Alldred and Gillies, 2012, p. 153). I insert punctuation as and when I feel that it helps with the sense making or the ‘readability’ of the interview. Braun and Clarke (2013, p. 162) argue that our verbal language is often “inarticulate” and “messy” and as such the transcripts become a representation of more

than the interview itself: it becomes a product of decisions I make. The interview data is messy, repetitions and grammatical errors are commonplace. I acknowledge that I make decisions about the transcripts, and elements of which ones I select to include in my data analysis, aware that some passages may appear as inarticulate and consequently represent the teacher in a certain way that may be less than flattering.

3.7.2 'Wonder' in data

My interview data and reflexive notes will be open to multiple readings and interpretations. However I utilise the power I hold as 'the researcher' firstly in the selection of what I chose to write about and secondly in terms of the 'how' of interpreting this selection. Reay (1996, p. 63) highlights the tensions of wanting to research areas which are central to our own experiences as gendered bodies alongside the positionality of ourselves as academic researchers and this is a tension I experienced. MacLure (2013a, p. 229) has argued that there is value in an 'affective' approach to interpreting data that can help to slow down our thinking and allow us to more closely inspect the data that 'glows' and sparks a sense of 'wonder'. Listening to the complexities of this qualitative data I acknowledge that there is a social construction of data that is bound up with my own auto-ethnographic sense-making and I am interested in questioning what resonates with me at particular moments and contexts. I draw from MacLure and this 'wonder' and found myself 'free-writing' from "particular positions at specific times" (Richardson, 2001, p. 36). Through free-writing I kept an open mind to ideas that stood out to me during my attempts of analysis and embraced post-structural methods of messiness and incompleteness in some of my later reflexive notes. Richardson (2001, p. 35) argues that writing as a method of inquiry "is a way of nurturing our own individuality and giving us authority over our understanding of our own lives", albeit whilst also troubling the idea of the unified Cartesian subject as fixed, essentialised and all-knowing. The free-writing therefore gives me permission to speak and be present within my own research. It followed that there were times of confusion, periods when the indescribable floated around in my mind that I couldn't translate onto paper. I was encouraged to process the data, acknowledge reoccurring and prominent ideas and question why these were the 'wonder'. At the same time I also questioned what was not speaking to me and why that might be. What followed from the free

writing was then a re-reading that enabled me to begin to categorise my data around themes that were then linked back to my research question. Barnacle and Dall’Alba (2007, p. 681) argue that it is this constant engagement with my research alongside all of the other demands of life that opens up my “possibilities of being”, transforming me into a responsive researcher.

3.7.3 Listening again

Another approach I took when working with my data is listening again. Davies (2014) articulates the importance of this process. She argues that listening again to research data encourages researchers to engage with it in “new and surprising ways” (p. 21). I listen back to the original recordings to remind myself of the pace and the emotional realm of the interviews that does not necessarily come through in the transcripts. I am interested in the uncertainty and the contradictory ideas as well as the emotional details because these help to frame my analysis alongside post structural thinking. I also listen again to my audio reflexive notes to remind me of how I felt at the time and what was standing out as ideas. These were often confusing and contradictory but I am reminded by Lather (2007, p. 153) that “the necessary experience of the impossible” challenges the status quo of research that has gone before and fosters new questions and reflections that are important for different ways of thinking. This then fed back into my analysis because I could then consider the emotionality of the interviews alongside any themes that were standing out.

3.7.4 Collaboration of transcriptions and reflexive notes

I am mindful that transcribing the interviews can lose aspects of the emotional intensity of the encounter, possibly sanitising them to focus more on the spoken word. I acknowledge this and rely on my notes alongside the interview recordings to help in the analysis and interpretation of the data. I am interested in moments of laughter, for example, that occur in the interviews and I do not challenge them at the time because I want to avoid interruptions. I worry that if I ask for clarity on moments such as this then the participants might get defensive and shift the mood of the interview. When I listen again to the recordings I am aware that there was more going on in the room than I have captured in the transcript and thus I refer back to my reflexive notes. This is important for my focus on the emotional lives of teachers and these are details that I choose to attend to. For example incidences of laughter allow me the opportunity to explore ideas

around happiness but also those around sarcasm. Moran (2004) argues that laughter in interviews can help to produce meaning and should be reflected on methodologically. In this section I am therefore focusing on how I have recreated what was going on in my mind through listening to and reading my transcriptions and reflexive notes. I attune to the breathiness, pitch, pace, laughter, repetitions, pauses, all of which add to the analysis of the subject matter and produce a richness of data. I use an example of laughter in this next section to demonstrate this layering of analysis and interpretation that brings together interview and reflexive note data.

I reflect on the relational complexities of my own positionality and incidences of laughter within the interviews. It is common for the women teachers to laugh alone as evidenced in my transcriptions. I do not tend to respond with laughter although I might acknowledge the sound with other inaudible modes, for example, a smile or a nod which fail to be recorded via the audio recorder. Morriss (2015) refers to the importance of my status as a fellow teacher in being able to offer affirmation or non-verbal signals to display my understanding of shared knowledge during the interviews. For example when a teacher does not laugh but there is an irony in what is being said my knowledge and smile may signal a mutual understanding, a co-collaboration of sense making. I include an extract below to outline the contradictions between the ideal image promoted by the institution, of everyone being part of 'one big school family', and the day-to-day experience of this being played out on a daily basis for this teacher. When analysing my data I am aware that the language is only part of what is going on as the following extract from Ruth's interview demonstrates.

Ruth: The staff room is very cliquey, it's a very cliquey staff room...I think this school in particular is the most closed down institution for communication up and down that I have ever encountered. I think that it is stunning because it almost seems that because of the "Meadowside [name of school] family" *[laughs]* this is my theory that because of the "Meadowside family" I think they've got such a warped idea how special it is that um any any um communication any um suggestion that it isn't a very special place is seen as a betrayal as a personal betrayal, *[pauses for three seconds]* a sort of corporate criticism. I think they take it very personally and that's one of the problems and I think for some reason and, I don't quite know why, but I think it's really strong in this school there's a discouragement to say anything, there's a discouragement to say anything whereas other places they would encourage you to say

something even when you said it and you got the feeling that perhaps actually they didn't want to know that but there would be things in place.

Ruth recognises the distance between herself and the leadership team or the institution. She links ideas around communication and openness with spaces where she is able to voice her concerns and in doing so implicitly names the opposite as barriers to this. She references the school's use of language of 'family' and of 'being special' as constructs to which she offers alternative meanings. Her response highlights the complexities of her emotions being encouraged to say something yet recognising that her views are not welcomed. I want to draw attention to the methodological decisions I have made in including this through illustrating the richness of the data that presented. The laughter in the extract above was captured by the recording device and was written about in my reflexive notes:

Today she laughed when she spoke about the family aspect of school life. I wonder could she be laughing at the irony of the statement that she doesn't get to see her own family due to work pressures or perhaps she's laughing bitterly at the divide between the *us* of teaching staff and the *them* of the leadership team. We're told we're one big family, successful when we work together. I think they mean that we are some perfect family looking after each other all the time but often I don't see another adult during the teaching day. I know that some people here don't even know my name. Staff walk past and don't even say hello. I think about the different meanings around family that she experiences when she brings this up and laughs about it because it is a powerful image that the school puts out there. I also remember that she looked sad, her eyes betraying her laughter. She looked like she might cry yet was laughing. She was looking down a lot, playing with her earrings, looking up after she'd spoken, avoiding my gaze. I smiled at her trying to reassure her that I was listening although who am I to listen? Is she really being heard? Can I do anything? (Reflexive notes 20/06/17).

This extract demonstrates the deconstructive work that I employ when analysing my transcripts alongside my reflexive notes. I embrace the argument that MacLure (2013a) presents that language is insufficient to describe or represent realities. I question how I can navigate the potentially confusing and contradictory words that are presented in the interviews and also in my reflexive notes and consequent analysis. I acknowledge that words may be inadequate but are necessary to engage with and produce a text that may never capture what it implies. However, I draw from Massumi (2002) and argue that words without fixed meanings and multiple realities provide an opportunity for me

to create a space in which I might be able to think differently and break out of the already known. I am aware that my personal knowledge and understanding of the educational discourse is influencing how I am reading and listening to the data and it is important to recognise this as a layer of analysis.

3.7.5 Covert data

In keeping reflexive notes I ask myself to what extent am I 'allowed' to turn these private notes into public knowledge? I want to use experiences that teachers tell me informally or that I witness but I acknowledge that I have no formal permission to do so. I am aware that this is yet another layer of my data analysis that has helped to identify themes and ideas that have presented themselves as 'wonder' as I have witnessed or heard about them. My reflexive notes often add a layer of sense-making to the interviews. My data analysis took this into account to ensure that information was not used in a way that could firstly identify individuals or secondly adopted covertly captured data for which I had no required consent (Simons and Usher, 2000). I am aware of the ethical challenges and dilemmas here of what can and cannot be included. I do not want to shy away from my reflexive notes and instead embrace the situatedness of the ethical 'grey areas' as they arise, albeit in line with University of Sussex ethical governance.

3.7.6 Dominant Themes

In the previous sections I discuss the different ways through which I have conceptualised my data analysis to demonstrate my interpretive lens to illuminate the data. I worked with layers of meaning textual material to identify dominant themes which I then review and use to construct my final analysis. I focus on contradictions and tensions that shine through and use chunks of data to represent these throughout the thesis text. I recognise that the identification of dominant themes and any meaning-making analysis has been influenced by my own experiences and the discourses acted on me, as discussed in sections 3.1.1 and 3.2.

3.8 Ethical Considerations

Edwards and Mauthner (2002, p. 18) note that ethical decisions run throughout the process of conducting research from its design, through data collection and then into analysis and the final reporting of it. I draw attention to my experience that ethical

clearance is presented as a process that - once cleared - is somehow done. Yet in my study the ethical moments of interest were in the fieldwork stage primarily. Initially, however, there was my ethical decision to pay attention to the teachers rather than the students who had been the subject of initial pilot work, as discussed in section 3.2. Subsequent to this, issues of sensitivity arose in the field in connection with hearing the teachers' voices in a way that critiqued the discourse of secondary education and the school especially. I have read these as a powerful commentary on the discursive and political demands of 'the academy' placed on all subject, and especially women teachers in this context, rather than as criticisms of individuals implicated within leadership positions within this particular school.

3.8.1 Collaboration

I offered participants the opportunity to listen back to the recordings and/or read the transcriptions that were produced because I thought that through making these more visible to the teachers they would want to discuss them. However all three teachers refused the opportunity to listen back to their recordings or read through the transcripts. Brownlie (2018, p. 7) states that research participants often struggle with seeing their everyday *ordinary* experiences shared in the context of research, which might explain this reticence. Similarly the teachers in my own research shared their concerns whether or not they had offered me anything useful for my research which positioned me as a data gathering interviewer rather than as part of an "open-ended moral conversation" (Benhabib, 1992, p. 9). The process of producing ethical collaborations with the teachers was not possible because they did not want to 'continue the conversation'. I am therefore left questioning the benefit of my study for these women teachers. Arguably one benefit is that space was offered and taken up whereby these women teachers were able to speak about their experiences in a way of their own choosing. They had spoken and been heard.

3.8.2 Anonymity

Interviews were conducted in a quieter part of the school where we could sit around a corner from the door so that if anyone came into the room it was possible for us not to be seen immediately. I could walk to the door quickly protecting the interviewee from being seen. I chose this location because Braun and Clarke (2013, p. 91) state that a

private location devoid of windows onto a common area is one way to reassure participants who have concerns about their anonymity.

The leadership team are aware of the aim of my study but I made no promises to report back to them on any of the interviews or overall findings. I have to consider that they may read the thesis and I am therefore mindful that confidentiality must be maintained. During the interviews I was surprised at the candour with which the participants shared both personal and professional aspects of their emotional lives. In section 3.7 I discuss the construction of my analysis and having spent months developing themes and connections I then grappled with how to present the richness without compromising anonymity. Van den Hoonaard (2003, p. 141) argues that anonymity “is a virtual impossibility” when participants are few in number and the research setting is identifiable to those who work there. Fundamentally I do not want my research participants to be traceable from the data that I choose to present in my thesis. Consequently I draw from Saunders et al. (2015, p. 627) and edit details such as names, teaching positions, subject areas, family dynamics and personal health issues as a way of maintaining the participants their anonymity without detracting from the richness of the way I make meaning of the data.

3.8.3 Willingness to share

As previous research has shown, one of the most significant ethical considerations is considering how a teacher’s own subjectivities of emotional ‘rules’ may affect what they are willing to share (Lather, 2007, Boler, 2009; Jaggar, 2000). I look at the ‘regimes of truth’ that pervade the school in order to consider how masculinist ontologies police the emotional lives that can be lived and those that can’t (Foucault, 1995). By this ‘regime of truth’ I refer to the relationship between power and knowledge and how these are interwoven with the discursive formation of both myself and my research subjects, considering how the teachers interviewed are framing their own emotional lives and how I make sense of these acknowledging that I too am affected by these ‘rules’. The thoughts that are shared could potentially change the teachers’ positions in the school if through sharing specific details they are become identifiable. The leadership team could make judgements in terms of their willingness to take part in the research and also their data that is presented in textual form in the thesis which might affect

participants' positions in the school. I acknowledge that the participants' willingness to share gives me a responsibility to protect their identity and at times limit what I feel I am legitimately able to discuss in my data analysis (see 3.7.5).

3.8.4 Authentic or fake rapport

Duncombe and Jessop (2012) suggest that interviews can create ethical issues about doing rapport and 'faking' friendships during the process of data collection. While my participants are talking I find myself nodding and smiling, encouraging them to continue to talk and perhaps an attempt of mine to show that I am listening to what they are saying. Comments such as "you know what I mean?" that are articulated during the interviews suggest a rapport between myself and the interviewee and encourage me to apparently agree with what is being conveyed in order to move the interview forwards. This can be argued as insincere and challenges the participants' informed consent if they "are persuaded to participate in the interview by the researcher's show of empathy and the rapport achieved in conversation", encouraging them to share experiences that they might have otherwise kept private (Duncombe and Jessop, 2012, p. 111). Duncombe and Jessop advise that this can be addressed on an individual basis as and when issues emerge. One particular volunteer in my study began to blur the lines between friendship and the interview/interviewee relationship. At the onset of our second interview she started talking about something that was upsetting her at school. I listened to her and she said that she was glad she had got to know me so that she could talk to someone outside of her own department. I explained that we would postpone the interview for another time. I then reflected on the blurred boundaries that had been presented between being a friend and being an interviewer. I was determined that the interviews were not to become means of mutual disclosure by gently reminding participants of the issue of consent and their right to withdraw whilst underlining the 'formal' nature of the research interview.

3.9 Conclusion

In this chapter I start by presenting my theoretical framework of post-structuralism. I move on to discuss the influence of my own positionality. I am mindful that I am an integral cog within the 'elastic plane' which is the research process where I am pulled in various directions at different times, as demonstrated in section 3.2 (Dunne, Pryor, and

Yates, 2005, p. 167). What follows is an overview of the research setting, the participants and a discussion of my chosen research design to conduct six interviews with three teachers alongside extensive reflexive notes. The final sections describe the various layers of data analysis and the ethical issues that I encountered during this process. The following chapter presents extracts of my data which I have analysed through the layers discussed.

Chapter Four

Research Findings

Introduction

Following a post-structural line of thought, as discussed in my methodology Chapter Three (section 3.1.1), this chapter combines theoretical and methodological abstractions with a 'take' on my empirical data as I attempt to unsettle ideas of the normative unitary autonomous subject of the woman teacher of one academy secondary school in England. This chapter presents the findings related to the research questions: 'What are the affective economies of women teachers' 'emotional lives'?' and 'How is space implicated in this affective economy?'.

The section that follows (4.1) presents the findings related to the research question: 'What are the affective economies of women teachers' 'emotional lives'?' It explores what affects are in this space and discusses the affective economies (Ahmed, 2004a, 2004b) as sexist, embodied and gendered. I discuss commonplace discriminations that women teachers, including myself, experience as part of our daily professional lives. I link this to the idea of women's bodies as taking on a commentary and legitimised visibility not assumed of men's bodies (Puwar, 2004). I discuss some occasions when my interview subjects 'choose' to speak out about the way in which they and others are positioned through these discriminatory practices which can be constructed as 'inequalities' (Ahmed, 2017). I complete this section by drawing attention to women teachers' voices, constructed in deficit by virtue of being higher in pitch and quieter than those of their male counterparts and located within the discourse of the weak, sexualised woman's body (Brizendine, 2007; Ruigrok et al., 2014; Sax, 2006).

Section 4.2 presents the findings related to the research question: 'How is space implicated in this affective economy?' I discuss themes that have been represented within my reflexive notes and the interviews concerning the spatial relations of the school and the ways in which this becomes imagined and enacted in ways that are highly territorial and gendered. I therefore explore the relationships that are interwoven between spaces and gender in particular areas of the physical and architectural space of the school. This section begins by exploring the challenges that my interview subjects make visible within the interview data about aspects of teaching boys within the

institution (Ziarek, 2001). I consider the impact upon these subjects that social constructions of gender appear to have on the level of respect to which they can automatically lay claim within the everyday teaching classroom environment (Acker, 1995; MacLure, 1993; Sachs, 2001). One sub-section explores the particular experiences of women teachers who are part-time workers who experience a discourse of segregation and discrimination in very particular and partial ways associated with different school spaces. Linked to this is the final sub-section on the construction of the 'pregnant body' in the discourse of the professional academy (Acker, 1995). Interviews focus in part on conflicts and tensions between putting students' needs first as part of a discourse of the role of the professional and how this can be navigated alongside the requirement of the pregnant subject to 'protect' the unborn child.

4.1 Affective economies

Discourses of sex and gender play out as regulatory frameworks involve expectations of women and men with respect to their professional roles. All three women teachers interviewed described incidents that can be viewed as sexist. When I use the terms sexist and sexism I loosely define these to refer to occasions when men are viewed as better and superior to women (Ahmed, 2017; Shakeshaft, 1992). How women teachers are regarded and whether or not what occurs is perceived as an 'issue' within the institution does not depend on the individual's values but instead on prevailing discourses that are part of the social context (Ahmed, 2014a; Jackson, 2010; Perger, 2016). The women teachers all had similar understandings of sexist discrimination and they drew from consistent discourses to describe their experiences. The biological discourse of difference between men and women teachers ran through the interviews and underpins some of the understanding of the women teachers interviewed of their affective day-to-day experiences. Hochschild (2003) argues that our emotions help us to understand the relational aspect of our lives but that these are also manipulated and constructed by wider discourses.

Each of the teachers interviewed identified challenges as to how their bodies can be read in ways that can affect their day-to-day professional lives. All three gave examples of the visibility of their bodies, sometimes spoken of directly and at other times inferred. How bodies can occupy space presents as a recurring theme in the interviews (Laurie et

al., 2014; Massey, 2013; Puwar, 2004) and will be discussed throughout this section. I return to discuss this further in section 4.2.1 where I apply this to the challenge of teaching boys. The women teachers interviewed spoke about how their bodies can be surveyed and regulated within the secondary school institution demonstrating performativity as a citational practice (Butler, 2004).

4.1.1 Feeling wrong

When the three women teachers spoke of their daily professional lives they expressed concerns that their gender is discriminated against by (male) fellow colleagues. Gender and gendered emotions are key discourses through which the women teachers discuss their professional roles. Karen is keen to speak back to these dominant discourses and became hyper-reflexive about the contradictions that she feels. For example she discussed how, in her first year of teaching, she asked for help with 'behaviour management' strategies⁴ only to face assumptions about her as a woman.

Karen: Keith said, he was my first ever head of department, and he said to me ultimately [...] with these three boys [...] it was the first couple of weeks of school in my NQT⁵ [Newly Qualified Teacher] year, he turned around to me and said the thing you've got to understand Karen is that they won't respect you because you've got tits and an arse. Now that is my head of department, that's someone who's going for senior leadership goals, he's got that mind set.

The disrespect that Karen is experiencing from her students is justified by her head of department because she has "tits and an arse". This can be viewed as his normalised assumption of her portrayal as a woman first and a teacher second which is then reinforced with the (male) students that she teaches. This resonates with Calder-Dawe (2015, p. 3) who interviewed students in a New Zealand secondary school and demonstrated that sexism is often presented as "harmless" and naturalised as part of women's biologies. It is through this that sexism becomes difficult to name and speak of.

Later in the interview Karen stated that she overheard Keith talking with these disruptive boys of how she is a new woman teacher and that he is keeping an eye on her so they

⁴ Behaviour management is a whole school approach that aims to "promote good behaviour, self-discipline and respect; prevent bullying; ensure that pupils complete assigned work" (DfE, 2016, p. 4).

⁵ A Newly Qualified Teacher (NQT) is a teacher who has gained Qualified Teacher Status (QTS) and is undertaking an induction year. Once completed they can then be legally employed as a teacher.

don't need to. I argue that by Keith allying himself with these students it both undermines Karen's position as a professional teacher and also reflects the unsupportive environment in which she finds herself. This finding lends support to the research claims of Mills et al. (2004) that some men teachers in Australian schools conspire with the boys they teach to reinforce the traditional gender structure of the school in ways that re-inscribe patriarchy. Karen clearly felt this positioning to be wrong and this resonates with Ahmed's argument (2017, p. 28) that "feeling wrong is what brings wrong home". Karen did not see herself as the source of the problem, despite Keith projecting this view at her. Her reflections demonstrate Jaggar's (1989, p. 167) argument that it is "only when we reflect on our initially puzzling irritability, revulsion, anger, or fear may we bring to consciousness our 'gut-level' awareness that we are in a situation of coercion, cruelty, injustice or danger". Karen was in a precarious position because she was an NQT and Keith had the power to pass or fail her induction year. This interview gave Karen a voice within my research and her strong views are noted throughout this section but I appreciate that she may not have spoken directly with Keith at the time because of the unequal power relations between them. This gives an insight into Karen's emotional life and how she must continually adopt different positions working within the constraints of dominant school discourses (MacLure, 1993).

Karen's encounter with sexism registers on the surface of her body as she speaks about it. I record in my reflexive notes that she was very animated with her hands. She didn't break her speech with any pauses for long periods of time and her eyes were intensely on me as she talked. I sense that Karen's uninterrupted talking is about things that have never gained recognition before, that she considered I might empathise with and in turn make her feel acknowledged (Ahmed, 2014b; Perger, 2016). When I listen back to the interview she sounds resentful, changing the tone of her voice as she spoke the words "tits and an arse", perhaps an opportunity for expanding self-awareness of the event.

The findings from Karen's interviews suggest that gender discrimination gets accepted and reproduced. Male teachers are re-inscribing these discourses with male students through not reprimanding them for their attitudes and disrespect towards women teachers. These findings are similar to those of Spain (1993) and Gaines (2006) who argue that the embeddedness of gender in the institution is saturated with power

hierarchies. Karen's account of "feeling wrong" does not stop here. She spoke of Keith hiding her laptop during her free period during which time she spent searching the school for it, panicking about not having a lesson ready for her Year 10 students. Keith returned the laptop just before her lesson laughing at how many people now knew that he had hidden it from her. The reason for this behaviour is not clear but Karen's experience suggests that the more she failed the more Keith spoke about his successes, telling her that she still had a lot to learn. I argue that in order to learn from Keith, Karen would also need to submit to this 'truth' of who she could be as a woman teacher when in his company. For Karen this felt wrong and she was keen to challenge these dominant discourses through speaking to me in the interview.

4.1.2 Miss, Ms or Mrs?

Ahmed (2017) argues that it is often easier to accept something than it is to struggle and put up a fight against it which in turn can maintain the status quo of the dominant gender discourse. This is demonstrated in Ruth's interview when she reflected on wanting to be called Ms and not Mrs which the (male) head teacher was pushing her to do.

Ruth: But I do think there's a difference for women. This was my first interview question as a teacher this was 24 years ago the head said to me, I did get the job, he said to me I notice from your application form that you call yourself Ms as opposed to Mrs. I like to call myself headmaster as opposed to the head and that says something about me that I want to be called headmaster as opposed to head what does it say about you that you'd like to be called Ms instead of Mrs? [...] I kept on getting messages from him I think it was pre email really saying would I like to be Miss or Mrs in the staff prospectus and I kept on replying I'd like to be Ms and then I'd get another reminder saying would I like to be Miss or Mrs [laughs] and then actually the deputy head came to see me and said look we need to resolve this, you know would you like to be Miss or Mrs. I said I'd like to be Ms and I said that is what I said, that is what I had on my application form.

I actually said to him what is it that the head is worried about conveying by putting me down as Ms and he [pauses] couldn't answer that, he couldn't answer that, I said to him could you explain to me what is the thing he is trying to avoid by me being put down as Ms. I sort of knew that he didn't want the picture to be that he had arsy women on his staff you know. They did put me down as Ms so because I challenged it but I didn't have a row about it but I did challenge it but I was asked persistently. The interesting thing was then a year and a half later I had

a baby and so I was on maternity leave and then I came back and I found when I came back there had been a staff, you know they always put oh so and so's done this and they put me down as Mrs X has had a baby and then in the next prospectus I was Mrs they didn't even ask they just did it and I'm quite sure that's because they just wouldn't have been able to cope with the fact that I'd had a baby as well you know heaven forbid that somebody might think that I was not married but you know I was all that time.

Ruth eventually accepted her labelling as Mrs and did not contest it further possibly because it was the easiest option having just returned to work after maternity leave. Her reference to how using Ms might portray her as "arsy" goes some way to understanding the costs for teachers in asserting agency over their professional representations as MacLure (1993) discusses. Ahmed (2014, para. 4) argues that "you are perceived as being pushy when what you are pushing against is *not* perceived" and these moments when Ruth described the pressure of normalised discrimination on her raises awareness and possibilities of her pushing back. The literature on gendered emotions suggests that women teachers' emotionality can be disempowering or empowering depending on to whom and how it is expressed and Ruth's interview demonstrates these complexities (Bartky, 1990; Campbell, 1994; Jaggar, 1989). She was both empowered by challenging the existing power structure where she was obliged to be Miss or Mrs but then disempowered by having a baby that, in this context, brings with it the title of Mrs to save supposed negative judgements. This highlights the institutional assumptions of gender and motherhood and the presumptively middle class 'respectable' moralities of schooling (Rowe, 2017).

A key discourse that Ruth discussed in relation to the success of her professional role was the gendered role of being a mother alongside being married. She explained that she was always married during these discussions about her title but it was her choice not to take on the title of Mrs.

Ruth: I was a Mrs for about six months after I got married and people kept on giving me new recipes and inviting me to flower arranging classes and I decided that wasn't for me [laughs] so at the next opportunity I changed back to Ms [...] I mean that's true people used to, from never being asked anything, they used to come up to me and say I've got a nice spaghetti bolognese recipe you might like to try and I was like what, is this because I got married [laughs]?

While Ruth was fighting against the assumed connotations of her title of Mrs rather than reinventing what it could mean she also draws attention to the fact that men teachers do not have any of these issues with the title of Mr. Laughter was peppered throughout the interview when Ruth recalled these incidents and the atmosphere felt positive and familiar. However when she spoke about challenging her name change once she returned from maternity leave she looked down to the floor, hesitated and lowered her tone of voice perhaps mindful that she eventually resigned herself to the inevitable “Mrs”. The gendered expectations of women teachers could be because of the patriarchal discourse which imposes a man/woman fixed difference through the language used to delineate women and in relation to a pre-ordained marital status.

The following reflexive note was a moment of change for me and I hope that through including it I can make visible some of the ways that women teachers are constructed in line with the findings from Ruth’s interview. We are socially produced as women teachers and the dominant discourses may be shifted and transformed as we resist or mediate or seemingly ‘accept’ our positions.

I just noticed in the prospectus that I’m down as Ms [rather than Miss]. Nobody asked me to change it. Is it because I’ve just hit 40 and they don’t want me being judged for being unmarried? Who changed it? Why didn’t they just ask me? I notice no one else has been changed to Ms. So many questions! Can I be bothered to investigate? I’ll probably just leave it. It makes me laugh in that I’ve just been reading back Ruth’s interview and her experience from 20 years ago and it’s just this minute happened to me. Miss to Ms. Done. (Reflexive Notes 12/12/18).

At the time of writing I was updating the website information for my department. I am surprised that I am still negotiating the extent to which I am taking on my school’s dominant assumptions and norms. My response on reading my new status as Ms and not challenging it brings anxieties of having not stood up to the dominant discourses that now shapes who I am to be. What does this new status say about me? In raising this as an issue, there is a re-citation of heteronormative assumptions about ‘appropriate’ forms of gender and sexuality for a woman teacher. As Jackson (2004, p. 682) argues “it is when we are *within* the categories that we can be *against* them because the limits of a category are intelligible only within the rules governing that category, *within* the constituted effects of that category”. This thinking resonates with

my reading of Butler (cited in Bell, 2010) who argues that if I use this ontological vulnerability as a position of strength then I can elicit some agency. If I cannot exist as a woman teacher outside of the language used about/by/to/between other women teachers then my response to this performative vulnerability at least raises an awareness of the challenges to my legitimacy as a professional within this space (Butler, 2004, p. 58).

4.1.3 Sexist jokes

In the interviews men's sexual jokes are described as normalised activities during the school day, demonstrating a sexually organised space that can be hostile to women teachers. Two striking examples are in Karen's interviews.

Karen: or when he [head of department] said to me when I did my display boards that he was going to draw a penis on them um I mean they're just some of the examples he said directed at me.

Her display boards were hand-drawn silhouettes of women in history with accompanying text. Her head of department's threat of drawing a penis on these reinforced the power relations with her as a new inexperienced woman teacher subject, fair game for humiliation and disrespect. The head of department's message was not only that her display boards were irrelevant but also that it was acceptable to belittle these women from history by bringing it back to sex by mentioning the act of drawing a penis on them. These findings are consistent with Shakeshaft's (1992, p.19) that women experience "hostile" difficult environments in schools when sex is used as humour.

I suggest that sexualised environments in schools are constructed through telling sexual jokes and that these help to explain the social construction and organisational practices of gender in schools. What and who is being controlled, how and who is benefitting from these controls? Alarming it is the visibility of these sexual jokes that somehow enables them to be dismissed and forgiven. In Karen's interviews she spoke of the openness with which one of her colleagues made sexist jokes.

Karen: We had a guy who is head of key stage four and he basically openly made sexist jokes all the time in front of the kids. He'd be like oh women drivers in assemblies these would be outrageous jokes talking about women's places, washing up, you name it, making cups of tea, it would be unbelievable and he does it in his lessons all the time so he used to, I remember sitting in the classroom next to his and he basically used this

and he was older, yeah but he turned round and he said, to some late students oh I'm glad you've turned up ladies make sure you're sat next to a man so you can copy.

He's like this all the time and it's all the older staff saying oh it's just tongue and cheek, just a joke but you're like but is it just a joke if he's doing it all the time and the head, everyone always used to say I'm surprised he's not fired oh but the head teacher couldn't find another maths teacher they're like gold dust and I'm like that's what annoys me is that, is the type of attitude so what sort of message are we sending out to young people?

Karen talked about a staff member who is perpetuating sexism around the school, reinforcing the hyper-masculinised stereotypes and quashing others. She spoke of how he was revered by boy students in an act of solidarity and this made it very challenging for her when she went to teach the same students in her lessons (I revisit this in section 4.2). As she spoke in the interview her posture changed from being relaxed, to being bolt upright facing directly towards me. The change in her body's positioning was noticeable. I reflect in my notes that the atmosphere in the room felt tense with her voice getting louder and her body commanding my attention, getting closer to my personal space. Her words took on a kind of performance. By this I mean that they became almost rhythmic when I listen back to them. I sense that Karen was expressing how she was learning to negotiate the sexist jokes embedded within her day-to-day professional life. Saying words out loud in the interview space somehow enabled her to escape her usually outwardly calm countenance, working through her emotions in a tense and excited way (Butler, 2004, p. 235).

Shakeshaft (1992) talks about sexualised environments and how men see sexist jokes and innuendo as banter whereas women see this as a way to regulate their own behaviour. I question what social dynamics are at work that mean that sexist language and innuendo might be challenged. Naming sexism as a problem works to make the familiar unfamiliar which in turn also creates disorientations and disturbances (Ahmed, 2006). These disturbances do not accept the familiar paths of sexism and instead contest the space produced within dominant discourses of power, positioning women teachers as "wilful" (Ahmed, 2014a, p. 23). I position Karen as a "wilful" subject while at the same time recognising that there are traces of self-silencing within these established ways of being that she indicates can leave her isolated within the institution

(Swim et al., 2010, p. 494). Gill (2011, p.61) suggests that normalised assumptions that gender inequality and sexism are no longer an issue has removed the language that can be used about them, creating a need “to get angry again”. She argues, alongside others, that sexism is more dynamic and elusive than traditional understandings allow, suggesting that women’s bodies constitute a central subject of sexist discourse in a way that presents discrimination as judicious (Gill, 2014; Kelan, 2009; McRobbie, 2008; Scharff, 2012).

I argue that in order for sexual discriminatory jokes to stop sexism needs naming and recognising as such (Ahmed, 2017, p. 6). Sexism can only be challenged if it is made visible and brought to the forefront rather than assuming that it dwells in the past and is out-dated in language (Calder-Dawe, 2015; Gill and Scharff, 2011). In a study with Canadian students Pomerantz, Raby and Stefanik (2013, p. 185) are struck by students’ inability to articulate and name sexism amidst the construction that gender inequality no longer exists and girls are seen to “have it all”. This might be because sexism is expeditiously neutralised as playful and harmless and consequently its “unspeakability” is a “structured silence” making it difficult to challenge and problematise (Calder-Dawe, 2015, p. 91).

4.1.4 Speaking up

In the interviews there is a fear articulated that students assimilate normalised sexist attitudes making it difficult to be a professional woman teacher because this can be in conflict with the dominant masculine discourses that are all pervading. The women teachers spoke of occasions when they had tried to challenge this and were given a myriad of excuses and told that it was not an issue. I argue that when these women teachers spoke out they might have worried about their own alienation in line with Ahmed (2017, p. 141) who stated “not only might you lose access to material resources (references, scholarships, courses to teach), but you might lose friends, connections that matter”.

The interviews hold many examples of how women teachers experience shifting subjectivities as they negotiate their beliefs alongside some conflicting aspects of their professional roles that they may or may not name as sexism. In the following extract,

Karen demonstrates that it can be difficult to articulate incidences of sexism and discrimination because perceptions of what constitutes each vary.

Karen: I get into all these academic arguments with people and I got into this one with Andy's [boyfriend] friends down the pub about women and feminism and why I still think that it's important and why more needs to be done [...] and Andy when we were walking home was like I don't really understand why you feel so passionately about this nothing really bad has happened to you. I think that some of the things that have happened to me are shocking.

Keith had been promoted and I was listening to her [colleague] saying he's in Leadership and I just felt a bit sick you know people like that can be considered leaders or they're up there as being these good leaders while you've got other people working so hard around them who don't get promoted and Keith just sits there doing nothing, being rude and not promoting good values and I find that really bizarre, what's wrong with our views on leaders that we think people like that are good?

Karen's experiences go toward highlighting how she chose to adopt multiple subjectivities which is broadly similar to Laurie et al.'s finding (2014) that gendered subjectivities are negotiated within the institutional space of the school. For example, she formally met with Keith (in order to pass her NQT year) whose views did not marry with hers. At the end of the extract above Karen swapped to using the third person perhaps to distance herself from those in leadership positions that, in her opinion, were not deserved because of the values embodied by them for example allying themselves with those who do "nothing" or are "rude". Karen's experience echoes the findings of Acker (2006, p. 447), for example, that the informality of this practice of gender inequality shapes the institution and reinforces gender discourses. Karen's inability to positively affect discourses at school was permeating her personal life. She had not given up objecting and speaking out about the discrimination that she had faced but was frustrated that it was not recognised by those closest to her. The men in authority at work are still being promoted and Karen has since left this job because (she said) she felt bullied into a position of a woman teacher that was created for her and that she rejected.

I recall an extract in my reflexive notes that resonate the findings of Acker (1995) and Roos (2008) and Karen's thoughts on the lack of acknowledgement of sexism in the workplace.

Today I was asked if I would apply for one of the pastoral leader posts because I'd done the position in my old school and would be "perfect for it" [...] I said thanks for thinking of me, I'll think about it. In her second sentence I was told "oh actually we do need a man in the office because we're losing David so maybe not". I was quick to reply that it was not acceptable to say that and how did she think that made me feel? She responded with "you'd be great at the job though I didn't mean anything against that. I mean you're so good with the kids". I feel disappointed. Cheated. Revered and rejected in less than a 30 second public exchange on the stairs. She sees nothing wrong with this thinking. To my face, in the corridor. By making it visible does she think that I am not being discriminated against? I march up to my office and share the story with my colleagues, my friends. Some agree with me and others say "well she's got a point, maybe we do need another man down there" (Reflexive notes 12/07/17).

My notes echo those of Spain (1993) who states that behaviours that are allied with being appropriate for a woman or a man extend into organisations. Without open and powerful conversations about gender within the secondary school institution the invisibility of the systemic inequalities that women teacher face in their professional lives, as a result of assumptions about their gender, is maintained. The woman teacher who made these comments is in her twenties and I question whether she shares these views in her lessons. I wonder if she considered who might be listening. My reflexive notes are also reminiscent of Puwar's (2004) discussion on the construction of masculinity as the norm and how individuals with these characteristics occupy privileged positions. I consider the conversation in my office and the comment "she's got a point, maybe we do need another man". Teachers have been constructed as disembodied, their bodies considered irrelevant assuming that women and men teachers are the same, however many women teachers experience inequalities in terms of gender discrimination or sexism (Acker, 2006; McGregor, 2006; Puwar, 2004).

The interviews draw attention to occasions of sexism that are not recognised within the institution and as such challenge the women's voices when they do speak out. They are flagged up by the women teachers but by naming them the teachers then come up against the sexism that they have themselves named.

Karen: Yeah well you do that and then you're going to be like the worst stereotype of a woman they're shrill, they're...you're rejected even more so I think it's really hard to speak out because then we become the woman who can't cope. The stories I've told you already are examples

of when I've tried to voice things and the backlash that I've suffered and that's what I find bizarre about it I think that when I was thinking about my own I know that after being at school with Keith um I know that Sarah [a colleague in same department] she never did anything she never said anything.

Karen draws attention to the institutionalisation of gender discrimination. Her personal views were dismissed and reshaped as someone who cannot cope, who was taking things too personally. McKnight (2018, p. 228) discusses the one who speaks out as the "trouble maker" and the "threat to stability" of the school institution. Karen suffered a "backlash" perhaps because she had no space to go to and voice these experiences. Karen absorbed the misogyny. By naming incidences in her daily life as discriminatory she was discriminated against. If women teachers speak out, or do not speak out, then are we somehow reproducing and reinforcing an ignorance of how things work or run in the institution? I do not want to assume that women teachers cannot speak out or that we are not capable of acts of resistance and hence this extract jumped out when I read back the interviews (Jackson, 2001; Keddie, 2007; MacLure, 1993).

Stevens and Martell (2016) argue that patriarchal assumptions can be challenged in secondary school institutions if teachers understand their own gendered biases and give centrality to examining gender inequality throughout the curriculum. I argue that teachers are kept busy and therefore rarely have or make time to discuss these huge issues that are saturating our professional lives. Kim and Ringrose (2018, p.48) discuss the changing curriculum in UK schools stating that "feminism is not prioritized as relevant or useful school knowledge" thus resulting in students, and I argue teaching staff, limiting their voices within the institution itself. The assumption, highlighted in the extract, that the gender of women teachers dictates our behaviour and ability to do the job differently to a man teacher indicates the problematic around women teachers' assumed subjectivities (Butler, 1990). Space is therefore implicated (see section 4.2) because it appears to preserve the prevailing structural power relations of the wider school and the secondary school institution (Laurie et al., 2014; Massey, 1994; McGregor, 2006).

4.1.5 Is anyone listening?

There were occasions in the interviews when the women teachers referred to their ability to voice concerns alongside a feeling that no-one was listening to what they were saying. The secondary schools described in the interviews are reliant on the relational power exercised by their teachers and students through their interactions. Consequently discrimination can be institutionalised because it is embedded in the practices of the secondary school. Biemmi (2015, p. 820) discusses gender and discrimination in Italian schools arguing that sexist foundations of society pervade the institution and teachers do not have the “tools” required for promoting equal opportunities in education. Pippa’s views on speaking out on discrimination are often in conflict with each other, arguing firstly that women have empowerment at work so don’t need to speak out yet secondly that she was discriminated against because of her choice to be both part-time and a mother.

Pippa: In terms of being a woman in a school I think with personality I think this can push through that a bit more than just the gender itself though because the movement, the feminist movement and the feelings that women have rights, the same rights as men. I do feel as though there’s an empowerment as a woman [...] I think now we’re changing into the mind set there’s a position I want to go for I’m going to make sure that I have those qualities to get it so I think that’s how I would look at it. I’m saying I would fight and go for the same position as a man in the school...do you think I would be discriminated against?

So yeah maybe I was discriminated against because I was part time but I was the prime carer for my son. It all just drip feeds down. I wouldn’t say any of it was personal or anything like that but because of how things have been structured in the way that this is what part time members of staff do, this is what full time members of staff do, they don’t necessarily allow or give a different policy for part time members of staff who are also lead practitioners or SLT.

I sense that for Pippa to speak out about discrimination is to risk being judged as over-sensitive or worse that she cannot cope with her professional role alongside being a mother (Calder-Dawe, 2015). Consequently she was at odds with her ideas and beliefs recognising some occasions of discrimination but reassuring herself that none of it was “personal” despite her being aware that working part-time has become associated with women teachers (see section 4.2.6).

Pippa's second interview took place after the birth of her baby and she was more animated and fired up about the discriminatory practices that she claimed to have experienced: lack of pay progression; failure of her performance management targets and a lack of promotion opportunities for her as a part-time member of staff. Unlike her first interview which captured moments of light-heartedness around her pregnancy the second interview was more emotionally draining for me. There was still laughter but it feels different when I listen back. The laughter makes light of a stressful situation. Despite not being interested in following up on things after the interview in this moment Pippa seems to position me as someone who might be able to help her as a friend (Duncombe and Jessop, 2012), see Chapter Three section 3.8.4.

Pippa: Surely if you read through I'm not a shit teacher [laughs] I'm just worried that I haven't got the time to fight this. I wish Samantha [her head of department] was more like you, I know you went and fought Andrew's pay [a colleague of mine] with the governors [laughs]. Well I just don't feel like Samantha will do anything. I want you there [laughs] ah well now I know that Chris is our union rep I'll go through him. I think I'll send an email now saying I'm disappointed that I've not gone up [pay scale].

The interview was an opportunity for Pippa to talk openly and feel recognition for her plight but this presented as a challenge for me as a researcher because my voice feels futile. I cannot help her professionally. I found her interview exhausting. However this constant reflection on what has been said allows me to immerse myself in the data subsequently producing moments of clarity as my thought processes shift over time.

4.1.6 Too short and too quiet

All of the women teachers referred to the physicality of their bodies within the secondary school institution. As discussed in Chapter Two, section 2.2, women's bodies are increasingly constructed as different to those of men which can impact on the emotional lives of women teachers (Acker, 1990; Ahmed, 2004b; James, 2008; McGregor, 2006). Drawing from Ahmed (2004a, p. 12) the circulation and reiteration of affective economies over time creates the "effect of boundary, fixity and surface" through which women teachers become defined. In Ruth's interview she illustrated the stigma attached to women teachers' voices of them not being able to command respect.

Ruth: I went to an INSET⁶ recently where one of the instructions was we were talking about classroom discipline and one of the comments from one of

⁶ In Service Training Day.

the leaders [man] was well you can't help the biology of your voice that is presented for you and I felt that was a slight although you could have a male with an unauthoritative voice I felt that was a comment about male and female and also I thought that was a great shame because again one of the schools I taught at earlier in my career they used to do voice training [...] so that when we raised our voice our voices would actually go lower instead of higher because it's so easy for female voices to go higher and then start sounding slightly shrieky and hysterical so they actually offered voice training for all new staff just a few sessions so that you just learnt to raise your voice but keep the tone low.

Ruth is directly critical of the man leader's view of women teachers' voices and diffused it away from herself by suggesting that solutions to this can be found, for example, through "voice training" that can be empowering. The gendered assumption about voice engages with the patriarchal discourse which argues and reinforces the binary division between genders (Brizendine, 2007; Scott, 2007; van Anders, 2013). Women teachers are limited and limit themselves if they engage in this idea that their voice is somehow holding them back. The extract also identifies the issue that one man leader holds this fixed view of women teachers' voices and this poses difficulties in terms of speaking out.

Ruth argued that training sessions led by the leadership team assume gender differences and that expectations associated with these become apparent. She described the potential for women teachers to sound "shrieky and hysterical", echoing the normative assumptions that being emotional distances them from rational thought (James, 2008). At the same time there is an assumption that all women teachers are bound by the commonality of their higher toned voices, "well you can't help the biology of your voice that is presented for you" and therefore we have the same lived experience in school. Ruth highlighted the complexity of a woman teacher's body suggesting that it is more than its physical presentation. She spoke of the advantages of "voice training", such as being heard but at a lower tone, to be in line with the masculine voices that perhaps dominate and are constructed as respected authority (Robinson, 2000). However at the same time she suggested a disappointment in the lack of acknowledgement that a woman teacher might be able to get help with their voice tone and still command respect. In her interview Ruth looked down as she spoke, and the audio is distinctly

quieter. She felt a “slight” from the assumption that men and women teachers are different and, in this extract above, the former is presented as a preferable way of being.

These assertions align with those within Robinson's (2000) research which suggest that women teachers are overtly associated with quieter voices and smaller bodies within the school institution. They may be understood as inhabiting an institutional space that was not designed for them (see section 4.2) thus fuelling ideas that they may act as a threat to the requirements of their performative roles (Puwar, 2004; Roos, 2008). What follows are my reflexive notes from the same training session that Ruth attended.

There is a discussion about women's voices, that they don't command respect, that they sound emotional. I watch as people shuffle in their seats, look down and wonder if anyone will speak out [...] One of them then said it might also be because we're generally shorter. I have to say something. I think carefully before I speak because I don't want to fit a stereotype that I'm defensive and emotional. Earlier on he had stood at the front and said something along the lines of “well we do make it clear to students and parents that some teachers are quieter and shorter than others so they [students] will need to make a special effort to listen to them”. A special effort?!

People start voicing their views, others start sharing their stories and the conversation shifts back to the responsibility of the student. I note a colleague looks nervous when she looks down at the table and says “Do you think that we should be drawing attention to our gender if a student disrespects us? Are we not teaching them that we are all equal and that we all deserve respect?” The lead sits quietly and lets it come to a natural end and then he brings it back with “well as I said you are all facing very different challenges” (Reflexive notes 9/5/2018).

In this moment I am actively engaged in the relational aspects forming the production of who women teachers can be and in influencing how we are identified and framed. This reflexive note captures the process through which dominant assumptions of women teachers are framed within the institution, spoken of as “quieter and shorter” in reference to our professional competency (Butler, 2004).

MacLure (1993) and Sachs (2001) have argued that teachers are in a constant process of negotiating their professional roles and these findings further support this idea in that women teachers are being made more visible and open to surveillance through this particular leader's vocal recognition of an apparent ‘lack’ of women's bodies. I question why this senior leader would say this firstly to us in a training session but secondly to

students and their parents. One interpretation is that he thinks he is offering support to women teachers by addressing the perceived weaknesses of our bodies in order that we may be able to address them. It may be that if vulnerability is itself performative then this could be a site of strength rather than weakness, if we as women teachers are able to make it so (Butler cited in Bell, 2010). However, I sense that because this leader used the word *you* rather than *we* in his closing words he felt a separation between us, his fellow colleagues and him being in the leadership team. He drew from a traditional gender discourse that emphasises a more authoritarian approach to discipline where a man's size and voice can be advantageous. This extract is important for my own study because it demonstrates how a training session held to discuss student behaviour can soon represent a much wider discussion on gendered bodies and affective economies within the institution. Calder-Dawe (2015, p.96) argues that those "doing sexism" in schools often deploy "plausible deniability" stating that they are sharing personal opinions that they are entitled to express. Sexism, following this line of thought, therefore becomes interwoven with dominant discourses that advocate the importance of individual expression and in turn dismiss any challenges made to it.

The uncomfortable conversations that highlight difference in gendered bodies that attempt to then underpin student behaviour and respect are striking. The women teachers who spoke out and resisted the dominant viewpoints in the room remind me that we are not voiceless. The lead man teacher in this example arguably has a stronger voice among parents and students because he controls exclusions and leads reintegration meetings⁷. His mind-set that highlights our differences as gendered teachers is troubling. Instead of carefully deliberating the actions of our teaching staff it becomes about an instinct manifested in traditional values about teachers' capabilities in gendered bodies. When women teachers are disrespected is it always the 'go to' by leaders to consider our gender when piecing the story together? Perhaps he was referring to the challenge of the hyper-masculinisation of boys in society. This may go

⁷ A school exclusion can be either a fixed period where a student is removed for up to 45 school days in one year or a permanent removal from the school to be educated elsewhere. Students on a fixed period exclusion require a reintegration meeting with the Headteacher or a senior leader on their return to the school agreeing the terms of their return (DfE, 2017b).

some way to explaining why the boy students pose some of the greatest challenges to the women teachers that I interview which I discuss further in the following section 4.2.

4.1.7 Reflections

This section outlines some of the dominant discourses of gender and discrimination that women teachers speak of as affective dynamics of their professional roles. The data has been troubling and reminds me of MacLure's (2013) work on the wonder of data and its affective power, which I discuss in Chapter Three section 3.7. I do not seek to suggest that these dominant discourses exist in all schools at all times just that these represent the findings from the six interviews I conducted alongside my own reflexive notes. The examples that I draw on illustrate that discourses of sexism, discrimination and gendered bodies transcend institutional space and can be encountered and possibly negotiated in different ways unique to particular situations and individuals. Discrimination appears through discourses of feeling wrong, labelling and sexual jokes and women teachers speak of opportunities to challenge these in their daily roles with varying consequences. The school provides the setting where gender assumptions constructed by social forces can unite. There is a recognition among the women teachers interviewed that it is not acceptable to openly speak of women in derogatory ways or exclude them from certain spaces. However discrimination by gender still occurs and is passed off as harmless. It is in this way that discourses continue to construct men and women as different, with little possibility to move towards a change of how we understand and can speak of women teachers. I discuss this further in the following section (4.2) focusing on how space is implicated in these affective economies.

4.2 Implicating space

I am drawn to my reading of Ahmed and the role that emotions play in the “surfacing of individual and collective bodies” (Ahmed, 2004b, p. 117). The school institution may play out as men who claim their position as ‘hosts’ are then challenged by women who have somehow invaded this masculine space as visible strangers threatening a status quo of the future. It may be through this reading of the school that I can posit that the institutional space is so tightly bound with masculinity that women teachers may be viewed as a threat. It is through reading (Ahmed, 2004b) that I consider how space is

implicated in the affective economy of women teachers' emotional lives, addressing my second research sub-question.

Schools can be viewed and portrayed as predictable spaces with embedded routines, timings, uniform and policies shaping and shaped by the people who use them. There is a common assumption that these predictable features constitute what a school is and can be. Teaching is, however, a tapestry of unpredictability. Individuals who use the school space are constantly shaping and reshaping the institution producing and enacting different gendered subjectivities (Allen, 2013; Taylor, 2013). In this section I have chosen to represent women's voices through a focus on the challenges of teaching boys, authority figures, shifting power relations in formal and informal spaces, constructions of part-time teachers and pregnancy. The sub-sections illustrate the fluidity of the gendered spatial relations of the institution (Massey, 1994; 2005).

4.2.1 Teaching boys

A recurrent theme in the interviews is a sense among the women teachers that our expertise and competence is challenged by students, frequently boys, because of how our bodies represent our gender (Jackson, 2010; Keddie, 2007; McKnight, 2018; Meyer, 2008; Robinson, 2000). Butler (1999, p. 192) refers to gender as a set of social norms which "precede and exceed the subject". I argue that this continual process of being constituted and reconstituted is shaping the professional discourse of who is and can be a woman teacher. For example Pippa, with 12 years teaching experience, talked of how some "boys" question her professional abilities because she is a woman.

Pippa: There's been occasions when boys don't think I can teach them and they won't respond to anything I've asked them to do they'll respond with "no I'm not doing that" or "how do you know" so in the past there's been a few students who've been like that so I think there's that challenge.

Pippa evoked a sense of her embeddedness within the traditional gender binary and highlighted the affective strains of negotiating her professional role alongside this labelling. She constructed the "boys" as defiant towards her and suggested that this is because her body is visible. Pippa spoke about this as she started to stroke her pregnancy bump which is perhaps a nod to the direct encounters with sexism that her body had recently encountered. She was located within multiple and contradictory discourses of teacher, a categorisation that in itself is located within a gendered context

that might be conceived as a space of struggle. Pippa was not simply located in discourse but was also actively both participating and distancing herself from certain aspects of discourses, particularly those which bring gender to the forefront as a category that presents difference between her and the boys that she teaches.

There are incidences which demonstrate the multiplicity of space, as previously discussed in section 4.1.1. Karen spoke about her expectation of collegiality in her fellow teachers yet experienced public humiliation when a man teacher told her boy students that he was keeping an eye on her. Gregson and Rose (2000) argue that space is multi-dimensional and the performativity of gender within the secondary school institution therefore brings space into being. The women teachers were constituted through discourse within spaces and negotiate affective economies through the discourses that they have access to. Karen, with seven years' teaching experience, spoke of the disrespect that she encountered from some of her students because of her gender.

Karen: Kids always asked twice, they had you and then a male teacher came to teach and you'd find in the revision session that they'd say Miss so and so said this, is that correct which I never heard them ask me about the male teachers in my department.

In Karen's interview some students were assuming that the women teachers were not as competent as men teachers, which is demonstrated through them double-checking information that she has taught them. This could be interpreted that, in other words, authority is masculine (see section 4.2.3 for further discussion). McKnight's (2018, p. 229) interviews with Australian teachers produce similar findings with descriptions of sexist judgements of and interactions with women teachers by boy students, which one teacher argues is an attempt to "put me in my box" by using the language "retarded chick" about her. However, it might also be that these students are instead intentionally challenging authority perhaps to show off to fellow classmates as a nod to the power struggle between teacher and student regardless of gender, or perhaps in addition to it. Karen was a younger teacher and it may be that her age was being challenged alongside/instead of her gender. Her view that colleagues do not challenge the students' line of questioning does however make it possible that the gender construct of women teachers being less competent is reinforced because there was a lack of support for her as a professional (Meyer, 2008).

None of the women teachers interviewed were in leadership positions and therefore were teaching students without the associated authoritative status that this naming can bring. A striking example emerged when Karen spoke about the difficulties of challenging the views of boy students. She discussed teaching a unit of work on women's rights in the 1960s and the issues that she encountered with the delivery of it.

Karen: I've got a group of 16 year old boys who don't respect me anyway literally laughing their heads off and I'm saying to them this is literally you know women 50 years ago who did not get law in writing of the equal pay act and still today pay is not equal for women [...] they're just laughing at that, they think it's hilarious [...] you know [...] nowadays people think that racist views, they can't believe they were said maybe it'll one day be like that with sexism but I do think that it is rife in the school system but it has to be there you've just got to look at the who's in charge of schools yeah they're men aren't they?

Karen named sexism, as she viewed it. She blamed sexism for the lack of engagement with these boys and claimed these views to be "rife in the school system" because men are "in charge" and, she implied, are not challenging these behaviours which are therefore becoming normalised among the boys that she teaches (Elliott, 2018; Jackson, 2010; Robinson, 2000). Karen's fast-paced talking projects a sense of urgency onto me to listen intently, to consider her struggles and nod along in agreement. She spoke uninterrupted for over sixteen minutes and I empathise with the issues that she raised although do not recognise them in the same way exactly in my own experiences. Karen was reminded by the students that she was on the same pay as men who are teachers in the school. She was used as proof that women are not held back or disadvantaged. These findings are similar to those of Ahmed (2017, p. 147) who discusses women of colour within academic institutions as being viewed as "evidence that the walls of which you speak are not there or are no longer there". Karen became the contradictory evidence to the gender pay gap because there was no time to discuss the disparity between genders in leadership positions and the dominant discourses framing women's key purpose as reproductive bodies (See section 4.2.7). Although the classroom might be a space where we could do gender in new ways, the assumptions and norms of gender from beyond the classroom permeate and work against non-gendered discourse in education (Elliott, 2018; Weedon, 1996). Karen's discourse of gender problematises the relationship between the leadership team and herself arguing that intervention is

required by the latter if these challenges of teaching boys are to be addressed in the future.

Influenced by Butler's (2004, 1999) ideas on performativity, as discussed in Chapter Two section 2.2.2, I am drawn to Karen's ideas that language plays a complex role in the challenge of teaching boys. Karen spoke of boys using "derogatory" language towards girls at school which then in turn reinforces traditional gender discourses of difference. I argue that because gender discourse is unstable and continually evolving the behaviour of those within the institutional space is also changing and perhaps not at the same rate as policy shifts in acceptable or unacceptable language. For example Karen commented on the increasingly wide use of the term "feminazi" and warned of the potential implications of not addressing this as inappropriate among large numbers of young people.

Karen: Feminazis I mean it's just awful [...] it's a stupid term that by very definition fascism or Nazism what you're doing is discriminating a group of people which exactly what the Nazis were doing so [...] they call the girls in schools feminazis because they're asking for equal pay in a public forum and the way that we're bringing up young men might need to address this issue. The boys are calling the girls in schools this to be derogatory like they shouldn't be heard.

When boys use the word feminazi they might be clutching onto its use across social media⁸ suggesting that those who want equality are attempting some kind of power grab away from tradition. It is a term that has power to maintain a gender discourse spoken by the boys that is difficult to challenge but not impossible. This is because through including Nazi within the word it becomes associated with something abhorrent and particular to an authoritarian ideology of the deluded. Karen argued that this needs to be challenged. In my reflexive notes I record that Karen was passionate about these issues but seemed isolated, alone in dealing with these experiences in school because she felt, overwhelmingly, that no one was listening. She spoke at length about the need for teaching equality to all students because otherwise the girls are somehow kept in place by this "constant abuse" that they face. This resonates with Renold's (2018) findings that girls in secondary schools are persistently objectified and up against

⁸ Charlotte Proudman, a barrister who objected to sexist comments made to her on LinkedIn and was then branded feminazi in the media (Addley, 2015)

routinized sexism during their day-to-day lives. There is a lot of effort involved in speaking out within a secondary school because the dominant ideas about gender are deeply engrained and therefore it is difficult to reclaim language used.

As discussed in Chapter Two, section 2.4.3, Acker (1990) argues that appropriate gendered behaviours pervade institutional spaces and are saturated within power hierarchies. Pippa and Karen demonstrated that boy students are challenging teachers about their competency and arguably this impacts on affective economies within the school space. What is spoken by the women teachers, the way it is spoken of and how I feel when I am listening to it is all encompassing. How secure are these women teachers when dealing with this doubt that is put upon them? I speculate that some teachers might experience this questioning of their knowledge as problematic. Firstly in that they may challenge the authenticity of the knowledge that they are imparting on their class but secondly in their own capabilities as a vessel through which this knowledge can be imparted. If expectations of women teachers are low from the students this lends support to the male privileged body in the institution. This could be interpreted that women teachers' achievements and capabilities go unrecognised as they try to negotiate these discourses.

4.2.2 Empowering boys

Women teachers are both powerful and powerless in different spaces around the school site and this is fluid and constantly shifting (I discuss this further in section 4.2.4). The following is a snapshot of an incident that took place which demonstrates what is both expected of schools and then how this shapes or forms the particular subjects of that discourse.

Karen: And then what makes it worse is um, so he [teacher] basically created this laddish culture in year 11 and 12 which I said to the deputy head that I was concerned about. I find it as a female member of staff it is intimidating. They're rude, they call me 'her', 'she', 'it', um they don't do it to male members of staff. They encircled a 50 year old woman teacher and they were tapping her on the head so there was an intimidation report created for them but it just meant that they became more intimidating because they came up to you asking you to sign their intimidation report.

Karen spoke about her perceived lack of support from the deputy head when she reported these incidents. She argued that the intimidation report⁹ was a solution of the school to deal with the problem but that this had merely empowered boy students who then put pressure on the members of staff signing the report to write positive comments about them and their behaviour. Karen's body was animated in this moment (her hand gestures increase, she fidgets in her chair) and the pace of her voice became faster while also increasing its volume. It seems to me that Karen felt that *she* was the problem that had been dealt with through the intimidation report and her raised voice is a symbol of her indignation and anger at this implication. A policy that has been written to placate her, an acknowledgement that her voice has been heard. She argues that she is still not being heard. That this policy is more of a hindrance to her day than a solution. This extract is interwoven with the discussion of the challenges of both women teachers' bodies and teaching boys (section 4.1.6 and 4.2.1).

Gender stereotypes continue to pervade the institution as long as they are continually being produced and reproduced (Gregson and Rose, 2000). Karen stated that the group of students on intimidation report were all walking around together wearing it like a "badge of honour". Robinson (2000, p. 80) reflects on similar findings in her research and claims that the bodies of boy students can "become an effective resource to intimidate girls and women". I refer to this research because Karen highlighted that she experienced similar forms of intimidation in school. She argued that the intimidation report was just feeding back into the dominant discourse that she had originally tried to challenge by voicing her concerns to someone in leadership. Karen reflected that she expected to be helped by leadership and instances like the intimidation report are a disappointing reaction. In her eyes these policies and actions do not address the problem of boys intimidating staff, in particular women teachers. This is in line with Jackson's (2010, p. 511) findings that "the impetus is on individual teachers to tackle laddism" and disruptive behaviours can often be unintentionally reinforced by the responsive actions of the leadership team.

⁹ This is a report card that the student hands to the teacher at the end of every lesson. The teacher writes a comment about the student's behaviour with specific reference to any intimidation practices (as interpreted by the teacher). The student then discusses these comments with a member of the leadership team at the end of the day.

The school is typically presented as a non-gendered institution but this extract would suggest that gender norms are both constructed and maintained within this setting. Dominant gender views are influenced by the policy of the leadership team in response to incidents such as this intimidating behaviour. It might be possible that the boys on intimidation report now reinforce their view that women teachers cannot cope and are intimidated by them. In turn this strengthens the boys' positioning within the school. This intimidation report and similar stories from other teachers about behaviour reports are important for my study because they highlight the paradoxical efficiencies of the formal bureaucratic processes in addressing issues that are inherent in our schools today and that are being played out with women teachers in particular (Francis, 2008; Jackson, 2010; Meyer, 2008; Robinson, 2000). I consider the relational view of space, in line with Massey (2013), McGregor (2006) and Rose (1993), and reflect on the paradoxical position of the women teachers in relation to the expected benefits, and beneficiaries, of the intimidation policy, against the backdrop of the policy itself having the power to constrain and silence them to avoid future altercations. The power continually shifts between the tall boy students standing over the women teachers and putting pressure on them to write a positive comment and the teachers wanting to get rid of the students as quickly as possible and so perhaps taking the easiest option and lying on the report.

4.2.3 Authority Figures

Puwar (2004, p. 11) argues that certain bodies are naturally entitled to institutional spaces and in this case, in this secondary school, women's bodies are not. Deeply embedded practices associated with the male privileged universal body are often invisible. A woman's body invading this professional space therefore becomes highly visible and subject to "super-surveillance" and challenge. Where these ideas might come from may be less important than how it is that these issues circulate and pervade the daily lives of women teachers in twenty first century schools. Keddie (2007, p. 24) argues that students ally "legitimate authority with the hegemonic masculine body and dominant masculine characteristics" and consequently a woman teacher's body is associated with powerlessness and therefore "frequently undermined". In section 4.1.6 I discuss the affective qualities of assumptions around the visibility of shorter and quieter bodies. Talking about this issue further Ruth, with over 20 years' teaching

experience, said that women teachers are perceived differently as authority figures within the school space.

Ruth: I think there is still a more heightened respect for male authority figures than female authority figures [...] senior management women have had to become quite male-like to get there and then are unsympathetic to people who haven't made the same decisions that they have [...] I feel that we're left behind.

Ruth further elaborated suggesting that student respect is intricately related to the language used about women generally within the school and because there are more men positioned in visible senior leadership roles. Ruth suggested that the women who she has known in leadership roles have become "quite male-like to get there" and she elaborated on this stating that they put their careers above their families. This part of the interview feels considered. I recall Ruth sitting upright and facing towards me as she clearly enunciated her message. Her pauses were short but focused. By this I mean that she closed her eyes perhaps suggesting that she was listening to her thoughts and pausing to ensure that she effectively articulated her own experience as a mother in teaching. Women in leadership roles are discursively positioned as different from women teachers, constructed as like men whose central concern is not their own children. Ruth highlighted a binary choice between career and children implying that professional success is only available to women who distance themselves from the dominant discourses of women and reproduction.

Women in leadership roles are constructed as prioritising careers over children constructing them as "male-like", the expectation being that for men children do not hamper or interfere with their career progression, reiterating the findings of Acker (1990) and Robinson (2000). Arguably women can reproduce the discourse of men themselves to gain access to power through career progression which in turn dismisses the discursively constructed position of other women teachers. However, this inevitably reinforces the inequalities between the genders hinting at the complex relationship between being both a woman teacher and a mother, which I discuss further in section 4.2.6. Those in leadership roles have fewer teaching hours across the week and therefore less direct contact with students in the classroom setting which can establish them as 'removed' policy-makers rather than practitioners. I argue that Ruth's assertion

that male authority figures have a “heightened respect” could be linked to perceptions about who makes the decisions in the school regarding policy and exclusions, which is the leadership team. Ruth observed the lack of women in leadership roles which may then challenge their status as authoritative figures in the wider school context because women teachers are merely bodies through whom policy is enacted. These findings are broadly similar to Blackmore (1996) who argues that dominant discourses of men as unemotional are organisational controls whereby these qualities become the desirable norm. Students observe the promotions of men teachers and might interpret this as a power and authority status over the women teachers who are often not in these positions and therefore sit outside of the decision making processes.

4.2.4 Formal and informal support

Massey (2013, 1994) and Acker (1990, 1995) suggest that the school as a gendered space is constructed and negotiated continually over time. As I listen back to my interviews Massey and Acker focus my attention on the complexities of gendered subjectivities that are both creating and sustaining versions of what it might mean to be a woman teacher across different spaces throughout the school. There are sites around the school where women teachers speak of having less structural power. For example, this can happen during formal meetings led by male colleagues drawing attention to women’s bodies as a site of weakness (see section 4.1.6). However these same women speak about the value of the support they receive informally from their colleagues which arguably enables them to undercut the structural power systems (Lyonette, 2015; Massey, 2013; McGregor, 2006).

Pippa: How many members of that staff are women, how supportive are those women um so I think there’s lots of factors that affect if you have an emotional experience at school. You’re stronger together than just being here there and everywhere and think there’s that mutual understanding that kind of unwritten word that the support happens as a given to fellow female colleagues not that you wouldn’t be second thought about by a male colleague but I think if you’ve experienced something yourself you can have that empathy part to it as well [...] When it happened yesterday with another colleague helping me out she could really empathise with the situation that I was in which is maybe more of a trait in women that I experience at work.

What Pippa suggested is that women teachers are more supportive and empathetic than men. This extract comes from a section in the interview where Pippa discussed being late to school due to both traffic but also because her son wouldn't settle at nursery. She arrived at school a couple of minutes late upset about her son. She then found out that she had a cover lesson with some challenging students who had, due to her lateness, gone into the classroom and were disobedient on her arrival. She talked of a colleague seeing her struggling and close to tears who offered to sit in the classroom while she went to compose herself. This colleague had herself just returned from maternity leave and it was Pippa's belief that "she could really empathise with the situation" perhaps because she saw her as a mother as well as a teacher. Her assumption being that only a fellow mother could understand what she was experiencing (Fischer and LaFrance, 2015). This statement, "more of a trait in women" is a reduction that all women teachers are empathetic, different from the men teachers. Pippa has developed a discourse that women are effectively the same and therefore homogenises them as a group to be defined by their emotional capabilities of empathy (Farrell et al., 2016; Horowitz et al., 2018). In the interview Pippa's voice wobbled as she relayed her experience and I sensed that if I interrupted or put an arm out to comfort her she would cry and so guiltily I stayed quiet and let her compose herself. The complex relationship between us and our emotional capabilities of exhibiting empathy within the interview itself is brought to the forefront, although Pippa did not acknowledge it or look to me for reassurance in that moment.

Against the backdrop of accountability measures (see Chapter 1, section 1.2) I reflect that it is our empathetic and supportive relationships at work that help to construct our professional success as women teachers. By this I mean the wider discourses that enable coping strategies to be negotiated (Warren, 2015). Ruth recalled an occasion in her previous school when her boss was supportive of her work-life balance ensuring that she coped with her teaching workload.

Ruth: I came back to work after maternity leave and my boss there he said to me he said um its brilliant to have you back you're a whole load better than a supply teacher [laughs] he said I know you're going to be really busy at home so set all homeworks where they read or they find out don't set any marked work and then I had a really big class and he had a really small class year 11 and he said we'll switch classes because we had a big

piece of coursework coming up and he said so we'll switch classes cause you'll have less to mark and they'll be really intrigued by having someone new and you'll have that as well so what I'm trying to say is I have met people in teaching that have been able to recognise what is going on and have some flexibility.

I don't think nowadays nobody would ever say to me [...] I've never had one instruction to actually cut my workload through that time while I was trying to look after my daughter [ill in hospital].

Ruth acknowledged that she received formal support with her workload in the past but that this quality of her professional life has since been lost. She spoke with a lower tone during this part of the interview, her words felt sad and full of disappointment of the changing values in teaching. It emerged that Ruth wanted opportunities for support during difficult periods in her personal life but that this can conflict with the perceived rigidity of her professional life.

Ruth: When I needed to be with my daughter [in hospital] there was a complete lack of understanding about how that could be and how they could try and integrate that into school life because I felt at the time that in their minds that if there was a family crisis in their lives their wives would sort it out and I think then you're in a situation where you are the wife actually you are the wife you are the woman who is sorting it out and you're in their employment and they've found it very difficult to try and visualise what I should be doing.

I would say that there was pressure they almost felt that I should go away until the family crisis was resolved and then come back because in a sense that's what would happen with them the wife would have you know been at the hospital [...] I had a year 11 boy that was really messing around so I asked the head of year if he could do there was an after school detention I said could he do the after school detention he said no that has to be done by the subject area first the after school detention I said I know that is the rule but I said I'm trying to get back up to the hospital so I'd be grateful if you could do the detention and er he said he just couldn't do the detention he just couldn't he er it wasn't appropriate he said I should get someone else in my department to do it. I was head of department at the time and I said I felt my department were doing enough to try and help with the situation and he still just said well that would be against school policy so I can't do that.

For Ruth the ideal situation would have been to be shown some compassion from this head of year but instead he argued that he needed to follow formal policy. The need for support was somehow overshadowed by surveillance within the institution

(Struyven and Vanthournout, 2014; Towers and Maguire, 2017). An interpretation of this is that there was a fear that if the rule was changed for one member of staff others would then take advantage. This is unlikely in that Ruth's situation, with her daughter seriously ill in hospital, was rare. While the school leader in this instance was not supportive Ruth did highlight that her own department "were doing enough". In asking for additional help she was attempting to alleviate their extra workload that she envisaged had resulted from her current predicament, balancing the hospital with her teaching demands. In this extract Ruth demonstrated a reproduction of the assumption that women teachers are regarded as naturally responsible for child care (Ahmed, 2004b; Hochschild, 2003; Trappe et al., 2015). It is through this discourse that power is exercised, constructing a framework outlining what is appropriate for Ruth and acting as a constraining force on what she can achieve in her professional role while balancing issues at home (see section 4.2.5).

The language in the interviews articulates the women teachers' acceptance of gender differences as affective economies that implicate their professional spaces. I draw from Ahmed (2004a) that to name something as a problem is doing something. It enables me to speak about data from the interviews and raise questions about why such language or behaviour is permissible within the school environment and whether this can change. In the extract below Pippa describes how stereotypes define her experiences at work.

Pippa: I think because gender stereotypes and labelling is so deeply ingrained in society that in a given institution like a school we're sort of at logger heads with it that it's going to be inevitable no matter what we try to do. I don't think we're ever going to overcome it. [...] almost any labelling or stereotypes in any institution it's going to happen no matter how much you try to have equality and say you have it the actual doing is the difficult thing. [...] in terms of meetings and being overruled perhaps by a male member of staff I think he's always, it's not a spoken, it's not a phenomenon but it's not a spoken rule it's perhaps something that's lowing there in the background feeling perhaps.

Pippa raised the issue of men teachers speaking over her during meetings as an example of the unwritten assumptions of dominant patriarchal stereotypes and questioned her individual ability to challenge these. Laurie et al. (2014) argue that interactions in the school demonstrate the negotiation of gendered subjectivities and Pippa could therefore use these unstable subjectivities to her advantage creating spaces of

opportunity, for example by directly confronting sexism in meetings to disrupt the taken-for-granted familiarity. Pippa did not align her thinking with this. Her interview suggested that she is resigned to the gendered rules of the formal meeting space that she finds herself in, reinforcing the dominant traditional discourses that pervade her professional life. Her first interview felt calm and Pippa reflected on the final stages of her pregnancy, laughing that she found it tricky to focus because the baby was moving around. Her priority was her baby rather than the institution at this given moment. This could help to explain her resignation to the compromising gendered space that I interpret through her words “it’s going to be inevitable”.

Moments of empathy and support in the interviews help me with my understanding of the implication of space on the affective lives of teachers. What is it that these moments can do? Using Ahmed (2012) I argue that through exposing the perceived lack of formal support from leadership I have in fact exposed the extensive informal support that is available among fellow colleagues on occasions. The tools these women teachers have introduced and shared among each other are examples of support. I can also apply this to earlier extracts of discrimination in the workplace (see section 4.1). Listening to fellow women teachers and their experiences of targeted discrimination and sexism is emotionally draining work. It unsettles my ideas of where I work, my role as a teacher, and my own experiences. This is key to challenging my own personal attachments to secondary school education. Blogging provides Ahmed (2016) the opportunity to discuss these moments and argue that “to work toward an inclusive institution is to listen to those for whom the institution is not inclusive”. Ruth argued that she was not included in the institution when she was juggling her time between there and the hospital. In the following extract she demonstrates her exclusion by referring to how staff welfare has been disregarded over recent years.

Ruth: some of the schools I’ve been at one of the deputy heads was in charge of curriculum the other one was in charge of like behaviour and the pastoral side and often that person was in charge of staff welfare and I mean that post has sort of disappeared so now there isn’t anyone or I think you said before that the head is in charge of staff welfare and how can that be? How can you go and talk to the head about you know [...] I didn’t know that our head was in charge of staff welfare [laughs] you know so I think that’s one thing that that post seems to have disappeared.

Ruth suggested that there are issues with the head being formally responsible for staff welfare. She raised her voice when speaking perhaps indicating her anger that the person who is supposed to be looking out for her is instead making her professional life difficult to manage. Ball (2003) argues that continual accountability and monitoring of the conduct of teachers creates a fear of being judged as not meeting professional standards. While Ruth demonstrates instances of empathy and support she also talks about how she would not speak to the head, alluding to tensions that may arise. She might feel that she would be surveilled (Foucault, 1995, p. 189) and judged more and as such presents herself as coping (relying informally on colleagues) rather than seeking formal support.

4.2.5 Balancing demands

In the interviews there was a strong sense that these teachers felt responsibilities to the school and their professional roles even outside of working hours. That the demands of professional roles have become amorphous and do not sit comfortably with personal lives. Ruth demonstrates this in the following extract.

Ruth: I still don't do all the things I should do I just don't [...] They think it's just a tweak but in actual fact if you've got 8 classes doing that then it can be each tweak can be increasing your workload by two hours a week something like that.

She [Assistant Head] was talking about the importance of marking and she was talking about how when she gets home and the kids are talking to you and you've got to get the tea and you're thinking but I've got to get this marking done and she did a whole presentation on why marking was really important. Those sort of things make me really angry because I think any teacher should have time to be with their kids or their partner they absolutely should. I mean why should you get to a time in your life when you wish you had spent more time with your partner and you hadn't been buried under a pile of books?

Ruth was angry that there was a perception, arguably an expectation, that marking other parents' children's books was more of a priority than speaking to her own children and this was reflected in the fastening pace of the interview. This perpetual demand to do everything better and faster inevitably cannot be achieved and how individuals interpret this is significant when I consider how many teachers, that I have known, have left the profession often citing a more realistic work/life balance as their reasoning (Day et al., 2010; Struyven and Vanthournout, 2014; Towers and Maguire, 2017).

Similarly Ruth described the feeling that she did not have a voice and could not speak out against new initiatives or additions to her workload.

Ruth: I think there's misinformation almost like emotional black mail really that we're not even allowed to rock the boat. We don't have a voice. Even without my experiences shouldn't anyone be up against other things, shouldn't anyone be up against the experience of balancing a relationship up against school isn't everyone up against that one or are we going back to the ages where it's like spinster people that became governesses. You know for men it is different.

This reference to spinsters and governesses is very powerful in that it recalls a time when women left the profession when they married or had children (Acker, 1995). Those left behind became career teachers and were branded spinsters. This in turn created a division between women who became mothers and women who stayed as teachers and became financially independent (see section 4.1.2). As Acker (1995) argues the financially independent women teachers were viewed as feminist, masculine and objectionable. It is interesting that Ruth mentions this era. One interpretation is that Ruth was feeling judged because she had chosen both a career and motherhood and this was not sitting comfortably within the institutional framework.

4.2.6 Part-time teachers

When I speak with the women teachers I note that two of them are part-time, Ruth (four days a week) and Pippa (three days a week) and this seemed to frame their professional experiences of feeling pushed aside and ignorant amidst ever changing events. Their motivations for taking part in this study might be derived from their experiences of being part-time and the unique challenges that they felt they faced. Lyonette (2015, p. 321) argues that part-time work in the UK is regularly "under-valued at the organisational level" and consequently women are downgraded and work below their skill set. Schools are dynamic places changing rapidly over the course of one day. Ruth and Pippa both reflected that when they are absent for a single day so much happens in this time that they are always "playing catch up". They spoke about checking their emails when they are off work in an attempt to keep up with events. Never being able to switch off their emotional attachment to the job, worried about what they might have missed over the course of one day. Arguably what makes these part-time teachers' daily lives even

harder is that they have different days off to suit the ten day timetable and as such they can fall victim to being pushed to one side (Cau-Bareille, Teiger and Volkoff, 2019; Griffiths, 2006). Both Ruth and Pippa stated that they miss out on casual conversations, decision making processes that happen in meeting times on their days off, knowledge that was verbally shared in a morning briefing but not emailed out. Keeping up to speed with events becomes their responsibility and their inefficiency at this might be viewed as failure within the school (Anderson, 2007). As a result Ruth and Pippa often went above and beyond their daily roles and came into work on days when they were not paid, for example to mark or moderate coursework, attend training, or complete performance management duties.

Pippa reflected that there were no part-time men teachers at the school and very few in her past schools and so through the act of being part-time she was therefore re-establishing a gendering within the institution.

Pippa: I don't know of one part-time man at school. Just by being part time I suppose that changes things [...] What SLT [Senior Leadership Team] do you know who is part time, none. So I think there's a discrimination as well if you're SLT you have to be full-time you can't be part-time but I could still be good on SLT part time but they just wouldn't have it.

This extract highlights Pippa's feeling of subordination and she spoke passionately about the assumption that she cannot be as efficient as the full-time members of staff, excluding her from leadership positions because of her part-time status (Grant et al., 2006; Lyonette, 2015). In a later part of the interview Pippa drew attention to the performance management policy where a teacher can expect to have up to five targets for the year. Although the teaching unions state that these must reflect the hours of the teaching staff this is not recognised for Pippa working three days a week. Her targets were in line with my own and I work full-time. Part-time staff are arguably vulnerable as a result of these unrealistic expectations that then feed into their performance related pay at the end of the year.

I consider how to look at gender and how it is produced, formed and reformed against this backdrop of part-time working. I argue, alongside Lyonette (2015), that part-time staff are often not encouraged into (or back into) areas of leadership, not because they are incompetent at their role but because they do not work five consecutive days and

there is no provision for communication across this seeming void. Part-time women teachers are working within a discourse that often devalues their membership of the teaching team. There are negative connotations that they are not balancing their professional role alongside their personal lives and instead have chosen children and flexible work over their careers (Budig and England, 2001). Coombe and Clancy's (2002) research, in a Higher Education setting, argues that if the impact of part-time staff is reconceptualised it is possible to reinstate their value to the teaching team but will require a renegotiation of the power relationships within the institution. The teachers that I interviewed commented on their perceived lack of power within the school system but this was presented as an assumed natural consequence. To Ruth and Pippa, their lack of power was not worth protesting about because it was their choice to put their children before their careers and they had no intention of coming back full-time, as is, in their eyes, the requirement for a promotion. This resonates with Acker's (1990, p. 149) theory of gendered workplaces which assume male full-time workers as "naturally" more suited to represent the norms of the organisation, for example through working full-time and entirely committing themselves to paid work.

The embodied gendered work in school that marginalises women teachers has shifted the thinking of Ruth who talked about a successful career as a head of a large department when tragedy struck and her daughter was taken ill, requiring weekly hospital visits. At a similar time a male head of department in her school became a carer to his two young children when his wife was sectioned into a mental health institution. She put her experiences with the leadership team largely down to her gender as the following extract illustrates.

Ruth: If you go back to when my daughter was ill so there was a head of science whose wife had paranoid schizophrenia and he'd had years of caring and occasionally she had a breakdown and had to go into a psychiatric hospital so he had two daughters and he had to care for them and also got depressed himself, as you would and he had big chunks of time off sick and he was never asked to step down he was never asked. I remember he came back from a long absence and I remember he said to me that he was told that we've got a cover teacher in place if you want to teach the lessons you can teach them if you don't want to teach them the cover teacher will teach them. So really I would say a very supportive attitude.

When I was in the same position being a carer they asked me to step down as head of department they said it was when you're back you're back. There was a complete difference and I felt that I didn't quite understand the difference I thought maybe that they as men were looking at him knowing that he was the breadwinner and they couldn't do that much because that family he was the breadwinner but when they looked at me they felt that they could rock my boat shake my boat more strongly because in their mind as the female I can't have been the breadwinner. In actual case I did earn more than my husband and we needed our joint incomes to support our south east mortgage but I there was a distinct assumed knowledge of that.

Ruth reluctantly stepped down from her head of department role. I listen back to Ruth's interviews and find it difficult to distance myself. She spoke of a multitude of struggles in both her professional and personal life and I find some of them upsetting, using my reflexive notes to manage my distress and sadness. The assumption that as a mother Ruth would earn less than her husband creates a gendered division of labour within the construction of the school space. This is in line with the scholarship of both Fineman (2005) and Ahmed (2004a) who argue that women teachers are caught up in particular affective economies of labour which circulate and become both recognised and accorded value. In this instance the affective economy is itself gendered. It was assumed that Ruth would not be able to perform her role of head of department alongside caring for her daughter while contrastingly the man teacher remained in post receiving support from leadership (Steiber and Haas, 2012). The social construction of gendered bodies is ongoing. Ruth was seen to cope until her daughter was ill and then her gender came to the forefront and she (in her words) was forced to work part-time. Her professional role was challenged by those she works with despite her protests that she would rather keep busy at work. I wonder why her leadership team put the roles of mother and head of department in conflict with each other. Ruth is both but being a mother appears to be making her vulnerable within the school as she balances her subjective positions daily (Budig and England, 2001).

4.2.7 Pregnant bodies

The discourses around pregnant women also revealed how the affective economy of work was deeply gendered and continually shifting. All three women teachers described their experiences with the theme of pregnancy and motherhood. Throughout the

interviews there was a strong notion that woman and mother are synonymous terms which demonstrates Foucault's (1978) claim that women are sexualised with their purpose of having children being their natural role in life. The women teachers interviewed demonstrated how pregnancy is centrally positioned by their bodies, creating expectations of who they could be within the institution. Dwyer (2006, p. 19) reflects on her own pregnancy during her time as a university tutor stating that she "simply just did not 'fit' in the discursive physical space" and consequently experiences pregnancy as "unsettling" within the normalised organisation of the institution. Ruth and Pippa both had children while Karen did not but they all spoke of their experiences of attitudes towards pregnant bodies, the possibility of them getting pregnant and how this related to motherhood and part-time working.

One lunchtime my colleague and I were walking back from the photocopier when we happened upon a pregnant colleague who, in our eyes, had been given an unreasonable request to carry out.

Dan and I are crossing the playground and bump into Beth who is 8 months pregnant and still working full time. She looks worried so we stop to talk to her. "I've just been told to go and break up some Year 11 boys fighting on the field". Dan and I tell her to go back inside and say we'll go instead.

Later on Beth tells us that she went to report to her line manager that this wasn't a reasonable request and he told her "well if you can't do all the jobs required then you should think about going on maternity leave early". She is angry. She's been ranting about how her pregnancy is inconvenient for the school. I wonder if he thought this through when speaking with her.

As it goes we went to break up the fight and both of us were unintentionally injured, with bruises appearing the following day, as we waded through the crowds that had built up to pull the three students apart. What if Beth had been injured, or the baby?
(Reflexive notes 10/7/2017).

At the time I remember writing this and being surprised by the lack of care shown to Beth. I question how her pregnancy sat so powerfully at odds with her professional teaching role in this moment. I know that there is a school policy on pregnancy and health and safety and question how effective this is for Beth at this time. I argue that such policies can begin to act as walls for women teachers referring them to the

legislation on safety at work and in this case asking her to consider leaving early for maternity leave instead of changing practices (Ahmed, 2016). These findings are consistent with previous research, such as McGregor (2006) and Laurie et al. (2014), in that concepts of 'teachers' are totalising which ignores the multiple realities of a woman's life, including navigating pregnancy alongside a professional role. Being pregnant disrupts the view of professional women teachers and Beth became constructed as somehow lacking, not capable in her role (Budig and England, 2001, p. 208). Her lack of inclusion in the school space is troubling.

Pippa described an incident during her pregnancy when a Year 9 boy pushed his chair into her baby bump when she asked him to put the sweet he was chewing into the bin.

Pippa: I had no choice at this point but to ring duty teacher because although he didn't mean to do it he just didn't think and my baby could be at risk and then he denies it and I have to defend why I've called for help while always thinking am I doing the right thing? Those are awful times in teaching. I don't know what happened to him but the Head Teacher took him away from the lesson. I never got an apology just an email from the head apologising on the student's behalf.

Pippa's comments are shocking to me because the event itself is dangerous to both herself and her baby but she questioned her action of calling for help. I note that during the interview she looked down, spoke with a quieter voice when recalling this event. She appeared to be accepting some responsibility for the boy's resultant punishment of being removed from the class by the head teacher. This is reminiscent of St. Pierre (2000, p. 484) who argued that a post-structural framing "does not allow us to place the blame elsewhere, outside our own daily activities, but demands that we examine our own complicity in the maintenance of social injustice". Pippa's question "am I doing the right thing?" indicates a conflict between her professional responsibility as a teacher not sitting comfortably with also wanting to put her own body and baby first and above the needs of the students. This incident resonates with Ahmed's (2017, p. 140) theorising that the complexities of the institution require us to "damage" the status quo, to speak up against the guilt and challenge the behaviours of others.

Schools are not isolated closed boundaries where you can file your professional life and then return to your personal life at the end of the day (Acker, 1990) although this is a theme discussed in the interviews. Pippa described her professional role of putting

students before herself as an explanation of why she was worried about getting the boy into trouble in the extract above.

Pippa: Just being able to be there for them because they've got difficult lives and we've been there, done that and been able to manage it so being able to put that aside to focus on what they're here for at the end of the day rather than us. Some days are easier than others but I think to be able to come through the school gates and leave everything else behind of your own difficulties it's hard but we're role models for the student so you've got to try your best.

This idea that teachers can "leave everything else behind" at "the school gates" is presented as part of the professional role despite any personal crises (Meyer, 2008). I felt deeply affected by this statement during the interview, staying quiet distinctly aware of my own embodiment (biting my tongue, stopping myself from fidgeting, trying to prevent my face from reacting) wanting to react and interrupt Pippa and say that I think she is entitled to keep her baby safe as her top priority. I later vent into my reflexive notes about the "impossible situation" that Pippa finds herself in. Ahmed (2007), argues that all experiences through emotions are relational and as such it is impossible not to experience teaching as a process interwoven into our own lives. For example with the incident of the boy who pushed the chair I question what messages are sent out to the student, other students, staff, Pippa's husband when the student did not apologise. Pippa appeared to draw from a professional discourse of teaching which is aside from her own life to underpin her understanding in making sense of this event (Katila and Merilainen, 2002; Sachs, 2001).

There is a strong reproductive discourse at play that it is a woman's primary purpose and function to get pregnant and be a mother which in turn forms a collective understanding of women teachers (Steiber and Haas, 2012; Trappe et al., 2015). Two of the women teachers spoke of the overt discrimination of the possibility of their bodies becoming pregnant hampering women teachers' prospects of promotion. For example both Ruth and Karen described occasions when this has been spoken of as directly linked to successful job applicants.

Ruth: I said why's the head looking for a cheap older woman he says well he wants an older woman so she can't have children so she can't have maternity leave well cheap because of costing and a woman because she'll probably want part-time. I mean he didn't mean that in any

derogatory sense he meant it in a completely matter of fact senses in that that was exactly what the head was looking for. It's a bit sad isn't it really. It's a bit sad and a bit illegal.

Karen: I recommended someone I knew from the network meeting who's very experienced, almost overqualified [...] I said she would be perfect for this situation. He [Headteacher] turned round to me and said well be frank with me, be honest um what sort of age is she? Let's cut to the chase, basically is she going to get pregnant? I think that is absolutely outrageous because she is somebody who is really professional.

Both Ruth and Karen suggested that women teachers' qualifications may not speak as loudly as their gender and the possibility of pregnancy. Pregnancy in these extracts is referred to as a disadvantage to a women's professional role in that judgements are made by those in charge despite this being "a bit illegal" and "outrageous". The assumptions being made by those quoted in these extracts are important because they might be having an impact on the promotion of women teachers (Budig and England, 2001). I argue that we need to challenge this assumption that women teachers are a homogenous group because power works within the school to bring women teachers into constructed forms of subjectivity and secures normative behaviours attempting to secure their ever-shifting existence (Foucault, 1995, 1980). In these extracts women teachers, regardless of whether they intended to have children, were being disadvantaged simply because they were the 'right' age and gender. Pregnancy is viewed negatively because it will cost the school money which in turn raises the problematic that women teachers who are mothers are not a good investment when compared with men teachers. It might be assumed that women teachers will get pregnant and this construction reinforces the difference between them and men teachers who are detached from this process of career breaks to look after the new born child. Both extracts construct children as problematic, complicating professional roles as they are navigated alongside motherhood (Charles and Bradley, 2009; Trappe et al., 2015).

4.2.8 Reflections

The interviews and reflexive notes describe the school institution as a territorial and gendered space as explored by Acker (1990), Blackmore (1996), Massey (1994), Puwar (2004) and Rose (1993). The three women teachers' experiences revealed how their

bodies are made out to be different and this can lead to a greater challenge when teaching boys and commanding authority. Their words and actions reveal that discursively sexed bodies of men and women teachers have different positionings in the institution. For instance the experiences of the women teachers I interviewed appear to reinforce the gender discourse that women teachers' bodies are less authoritative, weaker and more sexualised than their male counterparts.

Ruth and Pippa draw from their discursive positioning as mothers to help explain why they are less successful in terms of career progression in teaching. The dominant discourse appears to be that all women will have children which leads to our exclusion from the institution where a binary assumption has arisen between a choice of career or children. The expectations on women teachers can be argued are defined by their reproductive abilities and parental responsibilities and as a consequence they often embark on part-time work that can be less valued in the institution. The gendering of part-time working is strongly influenced by pay distributions within the institution with the promotion of men into leadership roles instead of women being more common. A distinction is continually made between men and women and these discourses in turn help to reinforce the regulatory frameworks which position them as unequal within the gendered space of the secondary school. The following closing chapter presents a conclusion to this study with reference to both the overarching research question and sub-questions outlined in Chapter Two (section 2.6), alongside recommendations for future research.

Chapter Five

Conclusion

5.1 Introduction

This final chapter returns to my overarching research question “How can the ‘emotional lives’ of women teachers be understood within a particular academy school in England?”. The thesis explored the emotional lives of three women teachers through semi-structured interviews and reflexive auto-ethnographic notes. These interviews and notes formed my data resources which have been conceptualised and explored through a post-structural lens. What emerges from my analysis are the relationships between gendered emotions (Ahmed, 2004a, 2004b; Boler, 1999; Campbell, 1994;); gendered performativity (Butler, 1999, 2004) and gendered spaces and structures of the academy (Acker, 1990; Massey, 1994; Puwar, 2004; Spain, 1993).

I organise this chapter by re-addressing the two sub-questions outlined in Chapter Two, section 2.6. I make concluding comments relating to each question, albeit recognising the lack of neatness of the data such that they can be discreetly squeezed into addressing one question rather than the other. What then follows is a reflexive consideration of methodological aspects of the research process, contributions of this study to the research literature and recommendations for future research.

5.2 What are the affective economies of women teachers’ ‘emotional lives’?

Theoretically, this thesis aimed to contribute to a body of literature on how gender and emotion can be read and the importance of attending to the emotional lives of women teachers and how these might inform, reform and transcend their professional roles. My findings are consistent with the theoretical premise of the work of Ahmed (2004a, 2004b) and Butler (1990, 1999, 2004): women teachers are constantly formed through the iteration, contingency and interaction of emotions with their bodies within the world. The discourse of the ‘professional’ teacher is presented through the data as emotionally detached and closely tied to traditional concepts of masculinity, which reinforce gendered inequalities for women teachers. A discourse of equal gender opportunities within the school works to mask the inequalities of sexism and discrimination that the three women participants experience in their professional roles (see section 1.2, p. 5). Reminiscent of Butler (1990, 1999) the positioning of these

women teachers is understood in relation to their shifting subjectivities as they comport themselves in particular ways that are required of them professionally. All three participants continually negotiate their professional positions and vulnerabilities with an awareness of the consequences of their resistance and their compliance (Boler, 1999; Jagger, 1989). Their professional positions are constantly mediated amidst essentialising and reductive discourses. I do not suggest that there is one idea of the 'professional' woman teacher but instead argue that my findings highlight that masculine categorisations have been organised within the institution to homogenise a taken-for-granted idea of a teacher. Given the gender inequalities that are highlighted in the data, the post-structural perspective of this thesis is productive and poignant in deconstructing the normative masculine ideal of the teacher against which many women teachers find themselves constantly pitted and measured.

The three women teachers in this study challenge traditional ideas of emotion as something fixed and pre-determined, stressing the uncertainty and contestability of emotions as played out among teachers. They highlight the complexity of articulating 'equality'. My findings demonstrate how emotions align with bodies through constant repetition which can generate a strong sensibility of who women teachers can be whilst also reiterating and reinforcing past associations (Ahmed, 2004a, 2004b). For Karen, Ruth and Pippa the power relations embedded within gendered bodies produce a 'truth' about what it means to be a woman teacher. These findings are synchronistic with the theoretical presumptions of the work of Butler (2004, 1999, 1990): teachers are not themselves objects but contested constructs which are a result of a sequence of recurring acts that bring them into being as an 'appearance' of 'teacher'. Overall the data presents complex relationships between women teachers' professional duties and other overlapping aspects of their lives, such as motherhood, part-time working, pregnancy, gender, body-size and voice, indicating that their positioning as professionals encompasses more than the 'teacher standards' set-out by the government (discussed in detail in Chapter Four). The ways in which they might be able to challenge and contest some of these complexities requires further research.

The study findings support the widely expressed view of post-structural feminist research that the three women teachers continue to face discrimination and experience

sexism because of their gender (Ahmed, 2015; Butler, 1999, 2004; Lather, 2007). Gender is regulated through discourse and is brought into being when a subject performs or re-cites what a particular society has established as connected to social norms (Butler, 1999). Women teachers' gendered bodies are brought to the forefront of the academy because normative sexist cultures act as emotional rules about what can/cannot/should/should not be engaged with (Ahmed, 2015). Sexist banter and misogynistic language is discussed as everyday-language with women teachers referring to occasions when incidents are 'brushed off' by those in leadership as trivial. This would suggest that sexist banter and misogynistic language becomes normalised within the institution, with those who stand up against it interrupting the harmony of the institution, supporting an argument for a shift in focus in school policy in the future (Ahmed, 2012; Shakeshaft, 1992). The problem identified in this thesis is therefore not a lack of legislation on gender equality, as outlined in Chapter One, section 1.2, but rather that policy is not enforced or worse still, that discrimination and sexism are not recognised and acted upon within the institution. They are, instead, assumed to be something that has been left in the past, 'before' the 'modern age'.

The day-to-day political realities of teaching highlight why it is important to pay attention to women teachers and steer away from some of the assumed 'genderless' approaches of the profession (Cousins, 2020). When Karen attempts to deal with sexist jokes there is an insinuation that she has not experienced any real harm and furthermore that she becomes a "feminist killjoy", someone who is getting in the way of the happiness of the institution (Ahmed, 2019). Therefore engaging with feminism and realising the potential of feminist pedagogies for re-thinking the school culture has implications for future professional practice if women teachers are going to make progressive changes (Keller and Ringrose, 2015; Kim and Ringrose, 2018). My findings show instances where women teachers have experienced marginalisation in the institution (for example in the experiencing of: sexist jokes; pay-gaps; maternity discrimination; constrained career progression and exposure to lad cultures). Speaking out about this might provide the opportunity to collectively resist and rethink their own positioning within the school in order to mobilise for future change (Connell, 2006). I am certainly mindful that these conversations need to continue beyond the scope of my

thesis whilst I also recognise that time pressures on a women teacher and the lack of spaces for meeting informally within school act to make collective resistance and rethinking a challenge (Yates, 2003).

Like Acker (2006) I still see the value in examining organisational practices that reproduce inequalities which in turn might lead to the exploration of some micro-resistances that might lead to renegotiations of gendered positionings (Thomas and Davies, 2002). Jones, Martinez Dy and Vershinina (2018) suggest that a way forward might be through the creation of women teachers' support groups (to challenge the unfair sexist or discriminatory practices). These might work to mobilise women teachers to begin difficult conversations that challenge our increasing 'self-reliance' on teachers' own 'common sense' and ensure that sexism is taken seriously and recognised as more than just 'banter' (Maguire, 2016; Mahony, 2003). A support group for women teachers may give them a voice and a space to increase their visibility within the secondary school. However, both time and space would need to be found and the success of the group might well still depend on finding a way to ensure some recognition and support of the leadership team to engage, listen and act collaboratively to ensure that a consistent approach is embraced as a consequence of agreements within the group on school-wide level actions (UK Feminista, 2020).

The National Education Union (NEU) (2019) argues that schools are ill equipped to tackle sexism (including for the reasons suggested above) but there is much evidence in my data to suggest that the actions of women teachers are important because they do illustrate the possibility of resistance and a "reimagining of what schools could be" (McGregor and Mills, 2014, p. 134). Similarly to Youdell (2011) I suggest that through resisting institutional silences in which sexism becomes normalised, women teachers should trouble both who they can be and the practices in their school by acting. Making decisions to act have implications for professional practice. For example, students who subvert and re-appropriate the disciplinary regimes of behaviour policies, specifically the intimidation report (See section 4.2.2), could be challenged if leaders acknowledged that sexism requires alternative actions. There is therefore, as Fielding and Moss (2011, p. 1) make a case for, a political need to listen to teachers to "overthrow the dictatorship of no alternatives" to a managerial 'top-down' approach. Apple (2008) argues that

political action in schools is, however, always risky because speaking up can be construed as arrogant and because acting on personal deep rooted beliefs advocating changes to the system are threatening to those in power. This might to some extent explain why some incidences of sexism remain unchallenged or unreported as women teachers adopt strategies to avoid being singled out as a threat or a disruption (Ahmed, 2012). Therefore any critique of professional practice and leadership must be undertaken with care within the institution to avoid the privileging of particular voices whilst others are exposed or even silenced. My findings suggest that tackling sexism is not prioritised by leadership and therefore this becomes a barrier to women's emotional well-being.

5.3 How is space implicated in this affective economy?

Gender and emotion are embedded within the academy, inscribed onto bodies that inhabit school spaces, which constitute taken-for-granted assumptions about women teachers (Boler, 1999; Lather, 2007; St. Pierre, 2000). The women teachers interviewed speak of a whole gamut of affects experienced in their day-to-day roles, often citing judgements about their bodies and their displays of emotion that are often considered as signs weakness and indicative of an inability to perform their professional role. In Chapter Two the universalising quality of the fixity of categories of gender and emotion in psychological literature highlights the masculinist ontologies that generate the binaries which dominate schooling discourses (Dillabough, 1999). The fundamental effect of this is that women teachers are removed from contesting the meanings that are ascribed to the affective economies that they find themselves working within. Assuming specific ways to be women and men teachers to whom particular emotional scripts pertain reveals the presumptions that emotion is something to do with a natural state – a gendered body and a particular gendered body that in its natural state is more able to 'do' emotion if it is feminised. Within the teaching profession there is a risk of marginalising and devaluing some traditionally feminine emotional qualities (Boler, 1999; Braun, 2012; Fineman, 2005). My findings are broadly in line with feminist post-structural research (Campbell, 1994; Jaggar, 1989; Lutz, 2002) because they illuminate a disconnect between opportunities for women who choose to be mothers and opportunities of men counterparts who traditionally are not viewed 'as mothers' (in

ways that define and limit), once they become fathers. This is most notably discussed by women teachers referring to the issues that they have faced during pregnancy, with promotion opportunities, pay disputes and part-time working, analysed in Chapter Four.

The school institutional space is constructed as one of equal opportunity (DfE, 2018) yet a contradiction experienced within this discourse of equality is that women teachers are simultaneously re/produced through gendered discourses reinforcing institutional inequalities (Acker, 1995; McGregor, 2006; Rose, 1993). My findings indicate that issues of discrimination and sexism are not limited to the classrooms or particular spaces of the school site. Participants demonstrate that gendered subjectivities are often assumed, but sometimes negotiated, in a variety of different spaces around the academy. Gendered hierarchies are reported in the context of student behaviour towards women teachers, but they also pertain within staffrooms, formal meeting spaces and informal collegiate comings-together. Notably, the research findings suggest that the staffroom serves as an affectively supportive space away from the students where emotional lives can, in the right conditions, be taken more seriously and discussed (Laurie et al., 2014; Massey, 1994; McGregor, 2006).

Perhaps a timely and apposite illustration of the state of teachers' emotional lives (including my own) is the recent legislation curtailing private space for teaching staff away from those who are taught. In 2011 the 'Education School Premises Regulations' were revised and one aspect of the original legislation that was noticeably lost was the obligation for schools to provide a staffroom for teachers (DfE, 2011). That is not to say that schools are abolishing staffrooms necessarily, merely that they are no longer required to furnish teachers with them, under legislation. My findings highlight the importance suggested by the participants, of adult-only spaces for the sharing of experiences: for complaining, chatting with colleagues, and generally off-loading the emotionally-charged and hybrid relational encounters of their day away from a prescribed and pre-fixed professional and gendered identity (Hargreaves, 2000; Mawhinney, 2008). At Meadowside there is a staffroom but it is frequently used by members of the leadership team and staff have mentioned that they do not feel 'safe' talking in there for fear of judgement or reprisal. Comporting oneself in a masculinist ontology seems to have become a mode of self-surveillance that is part of the

institutional life of school. Foucault (1977/1995) typifies this as the functioning of disciplinary power: women teachers are wary of sharing staffroom spaces with managers and senior colleagues in contexts where differences of power are rendered as if invisible and beyond politics.

The elimination of 'private space' for women teachers might be viewed as a metaphor for the wider changing role and expectations placed on teachers within the twenty-first century academy school. The academy constitutes teachers as subjects of efficiency, neoliberalism and normativity who can distance themselves from their emotional lives whilst they are within an institutional 'non-political' space representing themselves as consummate professionals (Fineman, 2003; Katila and Merilainen, 2002). In my experience the staffroom is the only space on the school site that is exempt from student intrusion and as such for me it has value as a cathartic arena where I can take a moment to consider my experiences of the day amongst largely empathetic colleagues who will be able to identify with the celebrations, frustrations, upsets or general time-wearying busyness of the day. I argue that the staffroom, in some circumstances, can represent a space where women teachers can unwind and relax beyond the gaze of their surveilled professional selves. My findings suggest that the removal of the school premises regulations has implications for women teachers now and in the future. My interpretation is that staff will have fewer opportunities to mix with each other in a way beyond a defined professional, individualised self. The implication is that if teachers have time to converse and unwind then they cannot be working hard enough (see section 1.2 for a discussion of accountability measures).

Kulz (2017) argues that the academisation of schools diminished the open spaces for discussions within education and instead presented mechanisms focused on accountability, inspection and assessment. Pressures to adhere to these mechanisms reproduces a particular embodied neoliberal teacher that becomes synonymous with the remasculinization of schools (Keddie and Mills, 2019; Youdell, 2011). This is reflected in my data for example with the dismissal of concerns over homogenous performance management targets (see section 4.1.5), workload (see section 4.2.5) and sexism which position women teachers as those who are failing and cannot cope. This restitution of hegemonic forms of masculinity denies broader approaches to addressing

women's anxieties or concerns and the failure of leadership teams to honour these concerns demonstrates a lack of collegiality and consideration and a 'blindness' to gender and sexism.

Arguably the remasculinisation of schools further justified the gender binary and the higher value accorded to masculinities over femininities that has taken place over the last 15 years of so in England (Moreau and Brownhill, 2017). The effect of this has been the greater regulation of women teachers which is demonstrated through my data and particularly in terms of the effects of a macho boys' culture. Opening up space to discuss the remasculinisation of schooling and education policy could perhaps come from teaching unions, as they have in the past. Teaching unions have demonstrated that they can action change through collaborative action, for example during the 1980s following two years of industrial action culminating in a national strike in 1986 (over pay) and again in 2011 (Garner, 2011). The 1970 Equal Pay Act (now part of the 2010 Equality Act) introduced legislation making discrimination between women and men at work illegal. The teaching union NASUWT (2017) more recently campaigned for all schools to be covered by the Gender Pay Gap Reporting Regulation (2017) and the lifting of pay caps for part-time and supply teachers which often affect women teachers disproportionately. However the teaching union NEU (2018) suggest that legislation is not sufficient in that it sits alongside competitive performance related pay and lower rates of promotion of women teachers which exacerbate gender inequalities within the profession (Finding, 2013). In addition, the unions are often demonised in the British press and the government has denied their expertise and sought to vilify them in ways that make their working with school leadership often untenable (Blakely, 2020; Riddle and Cleaver, 2017).

My findings suggest that women teachers do not passively reproduce dominant policy, however. Teachers do try to draw from the resources available to them as they negotiate their way through their day-to-day professional lives. What my data provides is a moral challenge to education policy makers to listen to women teachers and to take them seriously. If women teachers are to disrupt, for the better, the present state of education policy they need to break through the hypnotic ebb of the consumer market and outflank the idea that education can only be driven by the goals of big business and

corporatisation, and instead rebuild trust in themselves (Ball, 2013; Fielding and Moss, 2011) and in the power of a collective bottom-up, feminist-informed, women teacher's voice.

5.4 Methodological contribution

Methodologically this thesis contributes to a body of post-structural literature on the value of: the micro-study; the attention to emotions as part of larger discursive structures; and the complimentary contribution and power of the reflexive note within a study that draws primarily upon 'the interview' as a qualitative research tool. Post-structural theory has enabled me to engage with the power relations that produce the competing meanings and multiple subjectivities of the women teachers that I interviewed. The micro-study of three women teachers provided a way of exploring the rich subjectivities of how they position themselves as professionals alongside 'personal' and gendered discourses. It enables a focus on the power relations that were associated with gender, including my own. The process of engaging with qualitative interviews was highly productive for my research. Interviews also represented meaningful events activity for the women teachers who said that they had enjoyed taking part and reflecting on their professional lives and being listened to (Kvale, 1996; Schostak, 2006). To this end, one might characterise the study as also an ethical intervention (Simons and Usher, 2000). Attending to emotions is important because these are intertwined with pre-existing cultural and political contexts which underpin normative frameworks that determine how women teachers think they should be (Ahmed, 2004a, 2004b; Boler, 1999). Using reflexive notes as data has enabled me to analyse my own emotionality and capture moments of my own 'wonder' to add an extra layer of sense-making (MacLure, 2013a). Data has been enriched through positioning myself within the study, as another subject of discourse, enabling the complexities and confusions to sit within its post-structural framing (Lather, 1993). The voices of the three women teachers formed part of my daily life as I replayed their recordings, re-read their transcripts and constantly reflected on what they spoke of. It is an exhausting process and the women teachers' voices have an impact on me which I acknowledge as a methodological strength because they have helped in shaping and informing my critical post-structural voice in my reflexive notes (Richardson, 2001).

5.5 Positionality and Reflexivity

Undertaking this research has been invaluable as a learning experience and I have continually reflected on my understandings of being a woman teacher. Although I have experienced hearing misogynistic language throughout my teaching career reflecting on this now I am surprised by the alternative insight that reading literature on this has given me. The process of doctoral research has enabled me to step back from my own professional life and consider the normative assumptions that I find myself working within. This includes emotions discussed within the context of regulation and management which sits at odds with my feminist beliefs. I am grateful to many feminist theorists in keeping me company along the way and informing and reforming my own subjectivity (Ahmed, 2004a; Boler, 1999; Butler, 2004; Jaggar, 1989; Lather, 2007; Lutz, 2008). When approached about my thesis I have answered questions relating to why it is that institutions are still gendered. Conducting this research has therefore opened up the possibility for discussions about gender issues in both schools and the wider society. Overall I have gained a greater insight into the contradictions of the assumptions of equality among teaching professionals alongside performing what is deemed 'acceptable' in line with a patriarchal discourse of authority (Acker, 2006; Ahmed, 2016). My position at school when I speak out about discrimination and sexism can feel illegitimate and unsettling. There is a struggle to create feminist space for teachers or students and this is a struggle which I wish to take up, which I only came to realise when reading back through my reflexive notes. Without these different data sources, I may have noticed fewer subtleties and nuance as well as the importance of arguing for sex equality at school.

5.6 Contribution to the field

My study has made three major contributions to the field of ongoing and emerging perspectives on women teachers' emotional lives.

- Firstly by adopting an ontological position that decentres the subject of a woman teacher and her emotional life I have been able to discuss some of the discourses that are socially constructed within particular times and spaces at particular moments (Ahmed, 2004a; Boler, 1999; Butler, 2004; Zembylas, 2003a; Zorn and Boler, 2007). I therefore challenge the dominant essentialist, normative and

psychological views of teacher emotions within literature (Cornelius, 1996; Damasio, 2000; LeDoux, 2012; Ochsner and Gross, 2005).

- Secondly I have brought together the concepts of women teachers' emotional lives with assumptions about professionalism. This has provided a space where assumptions about women teachers can be interrupted, challenging ideas of them as the universal and heteronormative consummate professional. Women who are teachers may be positioned as those who are emotionally 'invested' in their professional role who yet, at the same time, are positioned within dominant hegemonic ideals of teaching as an objectively measurable profession which demands that they act in an unbiased way (O'Connor, 2008). I have highlighted ways in which these teachers have been so obviously positioned by readings of dominant normative discourses of the 'professional teacher' with their assumption of a taken-for-granted patriarchy.
- Thirdly I have brought to the forefront the sexism and discrimination that these women teachers experience in the affective economies of their school spaces. I argue that the work of the feminist teacher is far from over. Indeed, if sexism and discrimination are themselves not recognised as existing then they cannot be brought to an end. The findings in this study support the idea that despite gender equality changes in the law women teachers' day-to-day lives are still performative within a culture of sexism and misogyny (Ahmed, 2017, 2012, 2004b; Butler, 2011, 1999).

5.7 Future recommendations

This study has focused on the emotional lives of three women teachers in one academy school in the east of England. The findings of my study are therefore restricted and I do not imply that they should be read as evidence for a generalised claim about the emotional lives of all women teachers across the profession. This study, if replicated in a different time and space may well generate alternative findings and readings of women teachers' emotional lives. Nonetheless, in Chapter One I made a case for why the emotional lives of women teachers requires attention, suggesting the need to hear from a plurality of voices concerning emotion and gender in women teachers' professional roles. However, what my findings illustrate is that the construction of

discourses by the women have some similar themes. Post-structuralism has enabled me to explore a disjuncture between what is being said about gender equality in policy literature on schools especially, and what the women teachers I have interviewed have spoken of. Assumptions about gender equality are discordant with my findings and my study indicates disjunctures. This highlights its significance as informing future studies. Having exposed these fissures I acknowledge that exploring why this is the case is beyond the scope of this study but I argue that it does contribute to knowledge alongside other studies (Acker, 1995; Blackmore, 1996; McGregor, 2006). Future research into the emotional lives of women and men teachers might therefore, usefully, focus in particular on their gendering as a performative dynamic of their professional lives.

As exploratory research, this thesis aimed to open up a space to discuss the emotional lives of women teachers. In listening to the teachers and by drawing attention to my own reflexive notes it has raised many more questions, notably of discrimination and sexism in schools today. Women teachers make up 75% of the teaching profession (DfE, 2019) and if they are facing discrimination and sexism in the institutional spaces in which they work then this is deserving of further attention. It is possible that lack of acknowledgment of these issues and some effective action in dealing with them, might be contributing factors of teacher attrition. Discrimination and sexism are devaluing to women teachers and I propose that if schools make equality a priority this might be a step towards reducing dissatisfaction and attrition. I question how school systems might be held to account more effectively in terms of gender equality. Shortly before I completed this thesis the teaching union NASUWT published an article arguing that gender discrimination of women teachers is rife within the school institution indicating that research is still needed in this area (NASUWT, 2019). The process of listening to women teachers and providing spaces where they can contribute to knowledge might help to understand the turmoil and silencing of their emotional lives. This might be a step forward.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Information Form

Appendix 2: Consent Form

Appendix 3: Interview One Semi-structured Questions

Appendix 4: Second Interview Example Question Prompts

Appendix 5: Example of Interview Data Mapping

Appendix 1: Information Form**PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET****Study title**

How might the 'emotional lives' of three women teachers be characterised within the institutional context of one academy school in the east of England?

Thank you for your initial interest in my research project. Before you decide whether or not to take part, it is important for you to understand why the research is being undertaken and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully. There will be an opportunity for you to clarify any issues that you may have with me prior to interviews beginning.

What is the purpose of the study?

Using two informal, semi-structured interviews I am hoping that the two of us can discuss ideas about your everyday professional life in school. You'll be relieved to hear that there are no right answers or trick questions it's just an informal space for us to ponder out loud and further understand the topic area. Each interview should take between 30-35 minutes and please do not worry about preparing anything in advance. The interviews will be approximately 3-6 weeks apart. If you agree to take part you will be one of three participants discussing ideas around the emotional lives of women teachers in schools.

Do I have to take part?

Your participation in this research is entirely voluntary and it is up to you whether or not you take part. If you do agree to take part, please kindly sign and return the attached consent form.

Will my information in this study be kept confidential?

All of the information collected during interviews will be kept strictly confidential. You will not be identifiable in any subsequent reports or publications and no material or information obtained from this research will be attributable to you, and as such confidentiality will remain secure. Subsequent uses of records and data will be subject to standard data use policies which protect the anonymity of individuals and institutions. You are entitled to withdraw and discontinue participation at any time without penalty. If you do wish to opt out at any point you can speak to me in person or contact me at frampton.rebecca@gmail.com and I will remove your data from the project without any penalty. This research is conducted in accordance with strict ethical guidelines set down by BERA¹⁰.

PTO

¹⁰ BERA, 2011, 'Ethical Guidelines for Ethical Research'

What should I do if I want to take part?

Having read this information sheet if you do still wish to take part please complete the tear off consent below and return to me either via email (frampton.rebecca@gmail.com) or by depositing in my pigeon-hole.

What will happen to the results of the research study?

The results from this research may be used for use in my PhD thesis which will be published for the University of Sussex library archive. Parts of my thesis may be published as articles in journals or used for conference presentations. No one participant in the research will be identifiable in any published material.

Who is organising this Research?

I am conducting the research as a Doctoral student at the University of Sussex through the Education Department.

Contact for Further Information

If you do require any further information please contact me at frampton.rebecca@gmail.com. Alternatively you are welcome to contact my supervisor Dr Rebecca Webb at R.C.Webb@sussex.ac.uk if you have any queries or any concerns about the way in which the study has been conducted. The University of Sussex has insurance in place to cover its legal liabilities in respect of this study.

Thank you for taking your time to read this information sheet.

REBECCA FRAMPTON

4TH MARCH 2017

Please return to Rebecca Frampton

My Name:

I agree to taking part in this research project involving a discussion around the emotional lives of women teachers. I agree to:

- 1) Take part in the interview (Your initial)
- 2) The interview being recorded(Your initial)
- 3) Interesting responses I make to be included in subsequent publications on condition that they remain anonymous (Your initial)

Signature Date

Appendix 2: Consent Form

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

Thank you for agreeing to participate in this study. This form details your involvement in this research project into the emotional lives of women teachers in schools.

I agree to participate in a research project conducted by Rebecca Frampton from Sussex University. I understand that the project is designed to gather information about the emotional lives of women teachers in schools. I will be one of three people being interviewed for this research.

1 My participation in this project is voluntary. I may withdraw and discontinue participation at any time without penalty.

2 I understand that my participation involves being interviewed twice and that the interviews will last approximately 30-35 minutes.

3 I understand that an audio recording of the interview will be retained. A transcript of the interview will be made. The tapes will only be heard by Rebecca Frampton for the purpose of this study.

4 I understand that the researcher will not identify me by name in any reports using information obtained from these interviews and that my confidentiality as a participant in this study will remain secure. Subsequent uses of records and data will be subject to standard data use policies which protect the anonymity of individuals and institutions.

5 I have read and understood the explanation provided to me. I have had all my questions answered to my satisfaction and I voluntarily agree to participate in this study.

My signature

Date

- a) Please initial here to confirm that you agree to being interviewed _____
- b) Please initial here to confirm that you agree to being recorded _____
- c) Please initial here to confirm that you agree to your interview transcripts being used in analysis _____

Appendix 3: Interview One Semi-structured Questions

- I am interested in why you decided to volunteer for this study, tell me more about this.
- Tell me about your day to day life as a teacher in this school
- Tell me about the high points, tell me about the low points. Why do you think you might see them in this way?
- What does it mean to be a professional teacher?
- What are the particular challenges of your professional role?
- Are there some challenges that are particular to women professionals do you think? What makes you say this?
- Tell me about the emotional aspects of your professional role. Are these particular (or peculiar) to women teachers? What makes you say this?

Appendix 4: Second Interview Example Questions/Prompts

- You said before that you felt that as a woman teacher you could be treated differently. Do you think there are any spaces where you've been able to voice these concerns?
- In our earlier conversation you spoke about times when you had experienced difficulties being a woman teacher and a mum at the same time. Can you think of any times when you were able to voice these concerns at school?
- You say that your privacy feels invaded. Can you tell me more about how different spaces are experienced by teachers?
- I wondered if you wouldn't mind sharing what you just said about any points in your career where you have actively resisted these times where you have felt that being a woman has been challenging.
- You mention the challenges of being a part-time member of staff. Can you tell me more about this?
- In our last interview you said there were challenges of being a pregnant woman teacher around the school. What makes you say this?
- You said before that you felt as a woman teacher that you can be treated differently. Do you think there are spaces where you could voice these concerns?
- Do you think there are any spaces where you could challenge this?
- Could you share with me on record your background in teaching and your future plans so that I can capture your personal history?
- Can you give me a short summary of your career history since leaving university?

Appendix 5: Example of Interview Data Mapping

Karen's first interview	
<u>Research question:</u> 'How can the emotional lives of women teachers be understood within a particular academy school in England'	Karen speaks at length about how her experiences as a teacher are closely linked to her gender. She speaks about surveillance as a woman – incidents with teaching boys, sexist language, her visible body (dress code, voice). She also speaks at length about the difficulties of managing her work/life balance alongside unsupportive male colleagues and the audit culture that she must adhere to in order to 'fit in'.
<u>Sub-question:</u> What are the affective economies of women teachers' emotional lives	Karen presents herself as someone who has experienced misogyny and sexism within school. She draws attention to affective economies as gendered, embodied, sexist. Her visible body is spoken of throughout the interview. She suggests that her views are part of wider society; her boyfriend and friends do not support all of her reflections as she tries to speak out against the discrimination that she experiences.
<u>Sub-question:</u> How is space implicated in this affective economy?	Karen understands that in teaching boys she is subject to public humiliation and her male colleagues are not supportive (which she expects them to be). Her interview draws attention to the discursive nature of space as homogenous. She talks about boys and her male colleagues demonstrating power relations and how these shift. She challenges the affective economy that she finds herself in through speaking out to members of the leadership team. However she doesn't feel heard when she speaks out in some spaces e.g. formally with leadership team. She speaks of informal relationships and conversations being at odds with formal discussions in meetings.